1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Ardeo and Mooa by Wilson). The map published by one of these missionaries (60) is innocent of villages. As to the cultivation of the country they say: "At Tongataboo the country is flat and enclosed, and, though little cultivated, very productive" (65, p. 385).

By Mariner's time the complete breakdown of the central authority and the internecine wars had forced people to take refuge in fortresses (*kolo*) from time to time. This seems to be the origin of the modern Tongan villages, all of which to-day are designated by the word *kolo*, though none are fortified. The ruins of old fortifications are numerous.

Although the necessity of living together for protection disappeared completely with the destruction of the fortress of Pea in 1852, villages nevertheless persist in Tonga and appear to have come to stay. Christianity and the copra trade are factors that contribute to the maintenance of village life.

MODERN VILLAGE POPULATION

The large modern villages, such as Nukualofa-Maufanga on Tongatabu, Neiafu on Vavau, and Pangai-Hihifo on Lifuka Island, represent the acme of development in village growth and consequently the greatest departure from the rural distribution of population observed by Captain Cook. These large villages are composed of an assemblage of unrelated family groups. Thus, Hihifo, is said by one informant to comprise three groups of kindred headed by the chiefs and matapule Tuita, Pouangi, and Tea. In the smaller villages, however, it seems likely that the inhabitants are bound to one another by blood ties and that these little communities do not depart far from the grouping of people in ancient times. The tiny village of Siesia, Nukunukumotu Island, is an example. The relationship of the 16 individuals of this hamlet in 1920 are given below.

House 1

1. Kula, father of 5. A *toutai* (navigator or fisherman) and former mayor of Siesia. His wife was Finau of Folaha, Tongatabu, now dead.
2. Fatai, son's son of 1, named after brother of 1.
3. Maria, wife of 2. A woman of Maufanga, Tongatabu; upon marriage came at once to Siesia to live.
4. Solomon Tanaki, son's son of 1 and brother of 2, unmarried, named after brother of 1, by midwife. Born at Siesia.

House 2

5. Taani, son of 1, and father of 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, mayor of Siesia.
6. Mary Anna, wife of 5 and mother of 2, 4, 7, 8, 9.
7. Mili, daughter of 5 and 6, about 13 years old. Twin brother dead.
8. Latu, son of 5 and 6, about 16 years old. He and 13 call each other by brother terms. They are of course only cousins.
9. Mary, daughter of 5 and 6, about 9 years old.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

recorded in Samoan tales and somewhat suggest the suttee (op. cit., pp. 94, 344).

The Tui Tonga was often borne along in a litter. If he saw a bearer who was particularly zealous and went long without a change, he would stop the bearers and tell the zealous one to run, and the man would be given the land around which he ran without a spell.

Mats and tapa upon which the Tui Tonga had rested or sat would not be used again by their owners but taken to the Tui Tonga, or passed to his retinue.

The power of the Tongan kings to commandeer labor is obvious from the number of tombs, and from such a mighty structure as the great truncated stepped pyramid of Uluakimata I, known as the Paepae o Telea. The blocks of stone of which this tomb is composed are massive, some weighing as much as 30 tons. The quarrying and moving of these huge blocks must have required the labor of large numbers of men.

The following anecdote refers to the hard labor imposed by the Tui Tonga upon their subjects in connection with the erection of the great royal tombs.

> One day, when the men were pulling the stone along from the quarry, they reached a place called Tongia. They had a short rest there and went and drank at a water hole called Anameana. So scant was the water that all was consumed before half of the workmen had drunk, so they started pulling again on the stone and dragged it to Mua. The people who did not get a drink at Anameana went down to the two little brooks which are called Pokitau and Malifu and drank all the water which was there, and yet they did not have enough. They went then to another brook called Fangafeatu and then they were satisfied.

According to a fanciful version, Mounu, an artificial pier of stones at Lapaha, the Tui Tonga's seat, was built of the refuse from the great double vessel *Lomipeau* (26, p. 68). Another version states that it was the beginning of a causeway which the Tui Tonga Pau planned to span the great lagoon of Tongatabu from Lapaha to Tukutonga on the opposite shore near the mouth of the lagoon. Whether or not Pau really planned such a work, it is certain that the construction of the pier represents the organized labor of a considerable body of workmen doubtless acting under the orders of one of the kings. The great dry moat at Lapaha is another indication of centralized control of labor.

Cook (19, vol. 1, pp. 289, 357) speaks of the Siamafuauta as a rest mound (*esi*) which was the property of Pau and he mentions also such a mound on the summit of Eua Island. Such rest mounds, surrounded by shade trees, were frequently erected for kings and great chiefs (42).

If the Tui Tonga's daughter was fed so lavishly that she began to lose her waistline or develop other traits of unloveliness, the servants who were responsible for the overfeeding forfeited their lives at the Tui Tonga's discretion.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009

tabu. The informant knew of no special activities of berdaches, except that they took part in fighting like men. The informant conceived the *fakafafine* as hermaphrodites rather than as real males with feminine tendencies. Two adjectives, *fakafefine* and *fakafafine*, are used to characterize "men who have the habits of women and do the work of women."

WARFARE

Some rather lengthy accounts of the campaigns of King George I Tupou, both before and after he became Tui Kanokupolu, were obtained, but very little concerning the earlier Tongan armies:

> In a large army (*tau*) the commander-in-chief merely gave orders and was not expected to participate in the actual fighting unless he so wished. The Tui Haa Takalaua Mulikihaamea, who was killed in the fighting in 1799 was carried in a palanquin when travelling with his army and was actually slain in it when hostile troops (*tangata tau*) surrounded him. It is said also that in the army of Vahai of the same troublous period, Vahai did not lead the troops in person, but merely gave orders. In much of the fighting by Taufaahau's (King George I) army, he himself was not the leader on the field of battle. Perhaps the organization of the Christian Tongan legion which fought in Fiji (54, p. 361) under Maafuotuitonga gives some idea of how Tongan armies were officered. The informant Tapueluelu, Mayor of Neiafu, Vavau, who fought at Matuatu, near Taviuni, Fiji, said that there were two hundred men in the Tongan force. The head of the expedition was Maafuotuitonga, of the Hihifo district, Tongatabu. He took no part in the fighting and Vainikolo, a chief of medium rank, was the actual commander (*eikitau*). Vainikolo had several aides called assistant war-chiefs (*tokoni eikitau*) who transmitted his orders. Of these, one was Kisione Vave, a matapule; another was Tui, a chief; and a third was Takulua, a man of uncertain rank. Guns were used by this expedition.

Troops were mixed as to rank, comprising lesser chiefs and matapules as well as commoners. The *eikitau* (commander) was the strongest and best fighter. Ability seems to have played a greater part than nobility in the matter of military leadership. However, the commander-in-chief was usually a person of high rank, but the commanders of the *kongakau* (regiment) and *matanga* (company) seem often to have been matapule men rather than chiefs. Thus Takai, the famous one-eyed leader of Pea, is said to have been a matapule, as was his brother and successor, Fae. Moeakiola, son of Takai and successor of Fae, was also a matapule. The builder of the fortresses of Koloteekiu and Kolovai, Tongatabu, constructed about the beginning of the nineteenth century, was Ohuafi, son of the matapule Motuapuaka. Because Koloteekiu was not large enough to accommodate his people he built Kolovai. Kolonukunuku, near Nukunuku, Tongatabu, was built by a Tui Vakano, chief of Nukunuku before the time of King George I. (The term *kolo* means fortress.)

The earliest traditional Tongan account (some traditional Samoan accounts antedate it) of a war expedition, to capture the assassins of the Tui Tonga Takalaua, makes Kauulufonua, who later became Tui Tonga, the

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 . OU9 Tonga OU9

leader and also a participant in the fighting. Similarly, the prince Laufilitonga, before he became Tui Tonga, engaged in considerable campaigns against Taufaahau, who became the Tui Kanokupolu. So far as Tongan tradition goes there seems to be no record of a Tui Tonga engaging in warfare while in office.

In addition to the commander-in-chief, the commander, and the assistant war-chiefs of a force, the braves (*toa*) seem to have been important. Warriors of high repute were privileged to wear their hair in a style called *malumalu*, a fashion wherein the hair is allowed, or rather trained, to hang down over the forehead to such an extent as to virtually mask the eyes. When such a man entered the fight his enemies would say, "This must be a great warrior; I wonder whom he can be." Just as he met and engaged the enemy, the warrior would throw his head back, tossing his hair away from his eyes and so disclose his identity to the enemy. This element of mystery and startling disclosure gave the warrior a moral advantage.

Scouts preceded a Tongan army when it took the field. The wooden gong or drum called *lali* was used as an announcer of war, and also to announce the taking of prisoners, special beats indicating to the listeners the nature of the news. (See 17, pp. 139, 140-143.)

Although no accounts of actual naval battles are extant, it is obvious that the transport of troops by sea was developed to a high degree. Besides the innumerable troop movements between the three Tongan groups there are traditional accounts of movements to other archipelagoes and islands. The famous cruise of Kauulufonua I to the various Tongan islands and then to Samoa, Uvea, and Futuna is a good example. Tongan troops in large numbers must have been transported overseas in order to subjugate Samoa in the time of the earlier Tui Tonga. Then there is evidence of attacks on Niue, certain of the Ellice Islands, and even the Gilbert Islands (22).

The Tongans placed great reliance in fortifications which usually comprised an encircling ditch, earth wall, and fence. On the low islands such fortresses were usually on level ground. In hilly islands advantage was taken of naturally strategic locations, as for example a ridge between two canyons. A fortress was called *kolo*, a word now applied to a modern village. Nowadays a fortress is called *kolotau* to distinguish it from an unfortified village. McKern (42) describes the various types of fortresses. The fortresses bore names, as did usually each of their gates.

The word *kapafoli* (to environ, to surround, to besiege) applies particularly to the Tongan practice of laying siege; *kapasia* (to be stormed, taken, besieged) refers to the attackers climbing the walls or forcing the gate of a fortress, a thing which seems to have been occasionally done. The storming of Kamba, Fiji, in 1853, by Tongan troops is a good example (54, pp. 363, 364) and illustrates also a customary type of boasting "that the troops

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

of Nukualofa, the friends of Tupoutoa were like the seaweed that is taken by the current, they separated themselves and stayed as though they had joined Tonga. Only Ulakai, the paternal half brother of Tupoutoa, came with a few men. When the fleet arrived at Uiha they took Tupoutoa's body on shore. And after the *toloveifua* ceremony (presentation of gifts to bereaved) and the *ta-mee* (dancing) and the ceremonies of the funeral were over, Ulakai was appointed king at Veilupesia (in Uiha). That commenced the disturbance at Haapai. 173 643 764

Neither Haapai nor Vavau had any love for Ulakai, because of the separation of Nukualofa from them. Fuapau joined Tui Haa Ngana and they took Ulakai to Haa Ngana as though they had joined together; and Uhila stayed at Uiha and the Lulunga (western Haapai) people went to Tungua. The Lofanga people went to their own island. Laufilitonga (later Tui Tonga) went to Velata and dug strong fortifications there. Tuita went to Pangai and Ulukalala went to Toa. Each dug his fort. They did not dig fortifications for war but for protection, as no one had been appointed as supreme ruler over them. They did this while waiting for the *toloveifua* that was said to be coming from Tonga. Taufaahau (later King George I) was still going about as a youth with Ulukalala, because he had not reached his thirtieth year. Vavau rose up and dug fortifications: the forts of Lua and Vuki at Feletoa stood for Haapai. Tonga waited, then sent three vessels. It was not war, they came only to see Ulakai. They chose the bravest warriors in Tonga to come. The ship with three houses on deck (*falevakatolu*) and the canoe with two houses on deck (*falevakaua*) and the ship with eight houses on deck, all had come because Haapai was in confusion. The Tui Haa Teiho sided with Fuapau and Ulakai. They had come trusting to that perhaps. They all assembled at Haano, the vessels from Tonga, Haapai, and Ulukalala's vessels from Vavau. Ulukalala's vessels went perhaps to see what the other vessels were doing. There was an entertainment which was called *mangisi* (feast prepared for strangers) because there was a vessel that had just arrived from Fiji. 173 669 726 [884] 173 669 [501] [574]

The vessels were prepared and approached like the *veli* (a water insect like a centipede). They said, "Fight," and Fuapau answered, "Fight." Fuapau was not still siding with Ulakai and the vessels from Tonga, but with Haapai's party. But Tui Haa Teiho still sided with Ulakai and his vessels and was one with them. Ulukalala and his vessels stayed at a distance at Loloko and did not go to the feast. Only a few of them went and the war was suppressed. After that Ulakai returned to Tonga. Then Haapai settled down in peace. Vessels were prepared to take Ulukalala to Vavau and all Haapai went. Some people of the chief Vuki were murdered and there was nearly war. But Ulukalala's people were crafty and soon they were reconciled, and Ulukalala went and dwelt at Feletoa. The Haapai people returned to their own island. And they dwelt thus as though Vavau were submissive to Vuki. They watched each other like two male turtles, smooth on the surface only. 173 669 726

One day Vuki went down to have a bath in the stream Tufutele. When he came out of the water he met Ulukalala in the road. They conversed pleasantly, and Ulukalala invited him to go with him to his place and have some kava. Messages were sent to Ulukalala's people to come and make the kava and Vuki was asked to stay in the inclosure of Finau (Ulukalala) while men were sent to club Vuki's people, the people that had clubbed Taliauli-Malohi. Vavau subsided and proved the truth of the saying of Taufaahau: "Vavau is like a handful of dry sand." They let down Vuki whom they had upheld, while they turned and upheld Ulukalala. It is true what Satulo says, "I will not be friendly with a double tongued people." Vuki was banished to Haapai and Finau (Ulukalala) was supreme ruler at Vavau. He portioned out the land at Vavau and he gave each of the chiefs a piece of land. The piece of land called Leimatua belonged to Taufaahau. Finau (Ulukalala) knew that that piece of land was Taufaahau's, so he ill treated the people. Taufaahau knew that the people were ill treated because of him, so he sent word to the elders (or principal men) to go and tell Finau that he had given back the land to him, to please himself as to whom he would give it. It was done, and Taufaahau withdrew. Just about that time [515]

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1845-1865]

him Tui Kanokupolu. The ceremony of the appointment was held at the Pangai green at Kolovai on December 4, 1845. There is a saying, in reference to the appointment ceremony, "His back has rested on the koka tree." Taufaahau, now Tui Kanokupolu George Tupou I, dwelt at Nukualofa thereafter. 173 643

The following boat song (*tauaalo*) of Taufaahau's makes obvious the important part he played in Tongan affairs before he became Tui Kanokupolu.

		[533]
Haapai 'e tefua ki Fanganono	Haapai assemble at Fanganono	
Kau alu ki Tonga 'o fakatonu	While I go to Tonga to put to rights	[539]
Liu mai ke ta motulotu	Return and cut in two	

Taufaahau's Guns

Laufilitonga, who became the last Tui Tonga, lived at the fortress of Velata in Lifuka, Haapai. Taufaahau lived at the same time in Pangai, on the same island. Velata was a double-walled, double-ditched fortress. A protracted struggle ensued between these rivals for power, ending in victory for Taufaahau. Taufaahau is said to have been the aggressor. Many people were killed in the struggle, but captives were spared. With Laufilitonga was the important chief Tui Haa Teiho. 173 669 726 [712] [727]

Whilst the war was being fought at Velata, Taufaahau went in a small vessel (*faalalo* or *tafaanga*) to Eua, to the chief Kaufana, to get some guns. He got the guns, left that small vessel in Eua, and proceeded in a vessel called the Tuingatu-kitonga. He arrived at Laulea, at the weather shore of Fatumu, Tongatabu. He went up to the place of a chief called Kanongataa to interview him, and when he arrived the place was deserted; the chief was away at Fuaamotu, preparing his warriors to receive Taufaahau. And Taufaahau went there to him with his men and they met and Kanongataa and the chiefs wanted to detain him for the night, while some food was prepared for them, but Taufaahau thanked them and said that he must go, as the mission was dangerous.

After they had left Fuaamotu, Taufaahau said to his men: "If there is a man amongst you, escape." Taufaahau was the first to reach Lotuma. He waited there till his men came. They went from there to Vaini to visit Maafu who was blind. Maafu asked them where they had been. Taufaahau replied that they had been to see Kaufana to seek guns. Maafu said, "Draw near so that I can touch you," and he wished that he could see him. In that year was born at Eua a grandson of Maafu, and he was called Amusia-ae-a (I envy those that see). (He was still alive in 1918.)

And Taufaahau went from Vaini to Nukuhetulu and he tried to get a vessel to bring them to Nukualofa. He entered a house in which a man was sleeping and awoke him. The man asked, "Who are you?" He answered, "It is I, Taufaahau," and the man fainted with terror. Then he shook the man till he revived. And he said to him, "Don't be afraid," and he asked him, "Do you know of a vessel." The man answered, "I know of a vessel that is anchored at Houmaniu (the shore of Nukuhetulu). Taufaahau said, "Cut the rope and come and take us." He told him to go straight to Pahau and they reached there. They went to the place of the king Akaimotua.

The sun had just risen and the king asked where had they been. Taufaahau answered, "We have been to Eua to seek some guns." Just then a small double vessel arrived from Haapai and they went on board and sailed for Haapai and finished the war at Velata with the Tui Tonga.

A /Taufaahau later became King George I Tupou--Analyst/

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1829-1865]

When the fight at Velata was resumed, Taufaahau's warriors were having breakfast, as Laufilitonga's men made a sortie. Taufaahau's men quit eating, Taufaahau called for his gun. Malupo brought it and asked permission to use it. It was granted. Malupo shot Laufilitonga's son. When he fell, the Tui Tonga's men fled, but they asked where they got the gun and gunpowder. Taufaahau's men replied from the *mato* (edge of precipice), referring to Eua. A well on Lifuka is named Onemato to commemorate this reply.

A tract at south edge of Pangai is called Matuku, meaning "the fight is over," in commemoration of the surrender of Velata to Taufaahau. Velata was a double-walled and double-ditched fortress.

Fakailoatonga was the name of the chief who treacherously speared Taufaahau in the calf during the siege of Velata. Taufaahau was not yet king when this happened. Taufaahau withdrew the spear and killed Fakailoatonga with it. Fakailoatonga was said to be his father's brother. There seems to have been a scouting expedition in which Taufaahau was accosted in a friendly manner by Fakailoatonga of the enemy's camp and then treacherously speared.

At the conclusion of the war Taufaahau put the Tui Tonga and his chiefs in a boat and told them to go and not land again in Tonga, but Kaunanga, the mother of Tungi I, took them ashore at Lapaha.

Taufaahau and Ulukalala Versus the Heathens of Vavau

In 1829 Taufaahau and Peter Vi, an early convert to Christianity, introduced the Methodist church into Haapai. In 1831 Ulukalala IV (Finau Tuapasi), the great chief of Vavau, embraced Christianity, becoming a convert of the Methodist missionaries at the urging of Taufaahau, the Tui Haapai. Taufaahau had sailed to Vavau with a fleet of 24 large double vessels and peaceably induced Ulukalala to embrace Christianity. Now follows Peter Vi's (3) narrative of events at Vavau, of which he was an eye witness. The siege of the fortress of Otea took place in 1832 and lasted but three days.

I went to Koloa, Vavau, [in 1831,] and we prepared to sail in the vessel to Haapai. We were only two nights there, when Taufaahau sailed again to Vavau to bring Halaevalu Mataaho. Then Taufaahau arranged with Finau [Ulukalala] for us to have service together on the Sabbath. Taufaahau went and took the kava of the god Taufaitahi to Afu, whose god he was, and they teased him, then burnt the god. Then we went and had our service with Finau. Vavau was in commotion and divided into two parties. Lua dwelt at Feletoa and Ulukalala dwelt at Neiafu and the people were divided between the two. Whoever were Christians went to Ulukalala, whoever were heathens went to Lua, each preparing for war. Taufaahau returned to Haapai, Vavau having accepted Christianity. Finau expected that I would be left with him. But Mr. Thomas [a Methodist missionary] would not let me remain, and after some time Jeremiah Kamoto was sent from Tonga to Vavau, and Taufaahau sailed again for Tonga.

When Tongatabu knew that the Vavauans had accepted Christianity and burnt their gods' houses it prepared for war and Taufaahau's vessel, which was at Tongatabu, prepared to fight. That war did not materialize and Tui Haapai (Taufaahau) returned. A message had been sent from Finau [Ulukalala], saying for Taufaahau to make haste and come to Vavau, as there would be war soon. And we sailed and anchored at Taunga Island, Vavau group, in 1832.

Lua had dug fortifications at Otea on the island of Kapa. Two vessels came, all the crews of which were naked (sign of war) and they asked, "Whose vessels are these?"

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

with his seat at Fahefa, Tongatabu, is the recognized hereditary lord of a considerable part of Eua. The remainder is held by the Crown. Veehala's claim reveals again the ambitious efforts of the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs and the Tui Kanokupolu. In 1922, a portion of the island was given to the newly created noble Tupoutoa.

Veehala's claim rests upon the conquest, by his son Kaufana, of the southern half of the island north to Ohonua creek (Telea). Kaufana fought Manumua and other Eua chiefs. Previous to this the whole island belonged to the Tui Tonga. Kaufana conquered it before Tukuaho was sent there as governor in the latter part of the eighteenth century, probably by the Tui Kanokupolu Mulikihaamea. (See 16, p. 9.)

Faivalava, paternal grandfather of my informant Fakatene (who fought for the Tui Kanokupolu George I against the fortresses of Pea and Houma in Tongatabu), had a fortress named Loma. It was on level ground on the west side of Eua, not far from the present village of Kolomaile. Faivalava fought with the people of Ohonua, a village located at about the middle of the west side of the island. The war started through Faivalava's determination to maintain independence of the chiefs of Ohonua. He was defeated and left Loma and fortified the hill Teeveka. Takai of Pea, Tongatabu, fought there against Faivalava and his brother Foka, but without success. Takai returned to Ohonua and sent word to make peace. Foka came down to make peace and Faivalava stayed in his fortress to guard it. During the kava party to discuss peace Foka was murdered as he was drinking, but Takai returned to Tonga without further measures. The mention of Takai places this event early in the nineteenth century.

Heheu is an inland fortress strengthened naturally by a cliff. The commander of this fortress was Langilangi. He fought with the fortress Fangaata, whose commander was Tanakipusi. Fangaata was defeated. Langilangi was a son of the chief Hafoka. Fangaata was unwilling to pay Heheu the deference Langilangi required. Hence the war.

Tuutaki is a fortress inland from Ohonua. The chief there was Kaufana, son of Hafoka. He fought with his elder brother Talimalolo, whose fortress was Utumata in Ohonua. Talimalolo used to kill the people, and Kaufana stood forth as their champion and defeated Talimalolo. Kaufana sent Talimalolo to Tongatabu to his kinsman, the great chief Veehala in Fahefa.

Presumably these events took place after Kaufana had overcome Manumua as described earlier.

Tuutaki, the Famous Warrior of Eua

Tuutaki was born in the hamlet of Tuutaki, near Teemoa, low down on the east side of Eua Island. Whilst he was small, ceremonies used to be held before the Tui

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Tofua, Late, and Ata Islands]

Early voyagers speak of Tofua as inhabited. An old woman, living on Kotu Island in 1920, was the last inhabitant of Tofua. She was removed by force by her relatives, who feared she was becoming too old to care for herself and that the dogs might eat her if she became disabled.

Late Island, a volcanic cone lying west of the coralline Vavau group, was formerly inhabited. The Late people and their descendants now live on Hunga Island in the Vavau group. Late served at times as a place of refuge for political exiles. Fukofuka, a Vavau chief, who incurred the disfavor of a great Vavau chief, presumably Ulukalala, fled there and sought in vain to oppose the troops sent for him.

The people of Late seem to have had a quarrel of long standing with the people of Moungaone Island, in Haapai, for each group seems to have attacked the other at times. The fortress of Amaka on Late was built for refuge against Moungaone raids. The chief of Late bore the title of Totolate. There is one at present. He was appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu.

ATA ISLAND

My data as to the settling of outlying islands are by far the fullest for Ata Island, lying about ninety miles south of Tongatabu and in latitude 22° 20′, almost at the tropic of Capricorn. Like Toku, Ata was a haven of safety for the certain political refugees.

Ata was discovered and named Pylstaarts by Tasman in January, 1643, while he was voyaging northward from New Zealand to Tonga. No mention is made of signs of inhabitants and presumably it was not then occupied. Tongan tradition makes the peopling somewhat later.

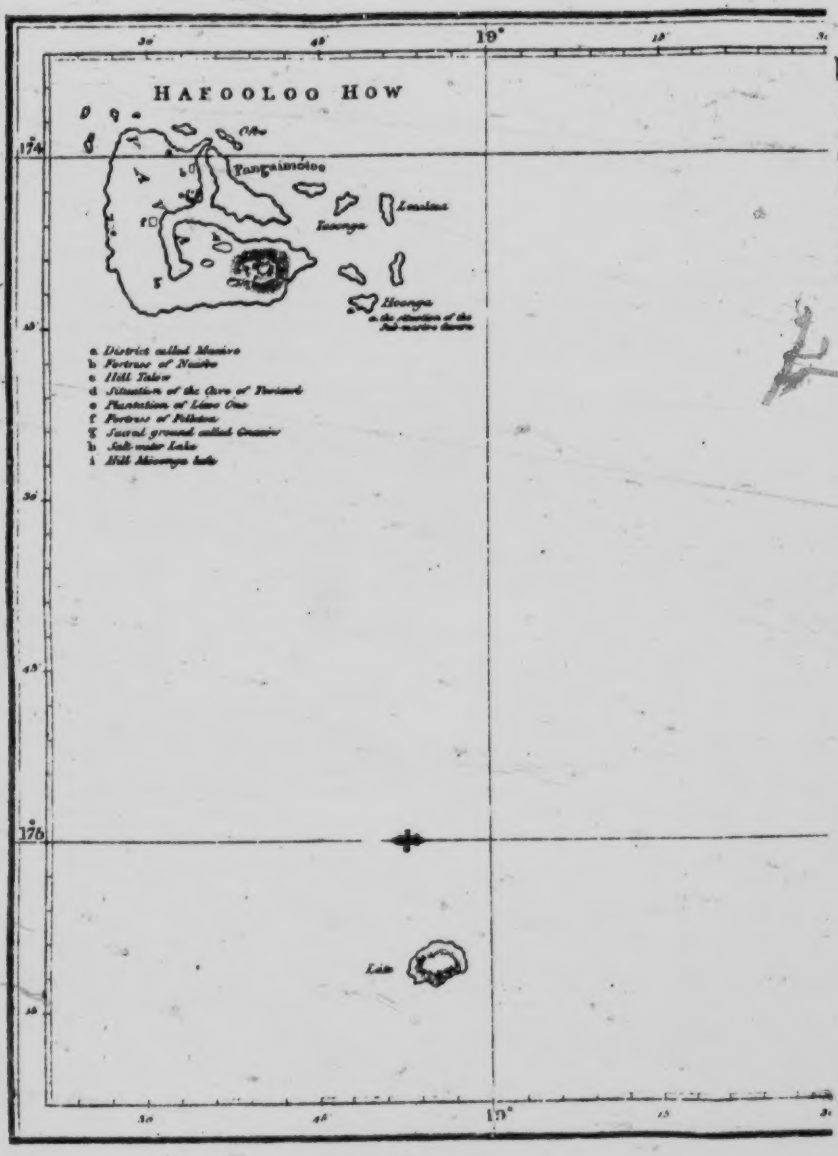
By 1791 Ata was inhabited. Thomson (21), discussing the voyage of Captain Edwards in H. M. S. *Pandora*, says: "Running southward, he made Pylstaarts, at that time inhabited by Tongan castaways, and the fact that he did not stop to examine it, although he saw by the smoke that it was inhabited. . . ."

In the Voyage of the Duff (65, 66), Ata is mentioned as uninhabited, which would seem to be a mistake since it was already occupied in 1791. Speaking of the Spanish discoverer Fran. Ant. Maurelle who passed in March, 1781, the Voyage of the Duff says: "He also saw the high uninhabited spot, discovered and named Pylstaarts island by Tasman, in latitude 22° 22′, 175° 59′ west longitude. This he called La Sola."

West (62, p. 271) relates the following story about the peopling of Ata:

> . . . strange tales are told of one of their chiefs, called Uhila, whose cannibal propensities had been intensified by a long residence in Fiji. This chief resided at Nomuka; but he was in the habit of making sudden descents upon different islands, for the purpose of clubbing and kidnapping any of the inhabitants he could lay hold of, with whose

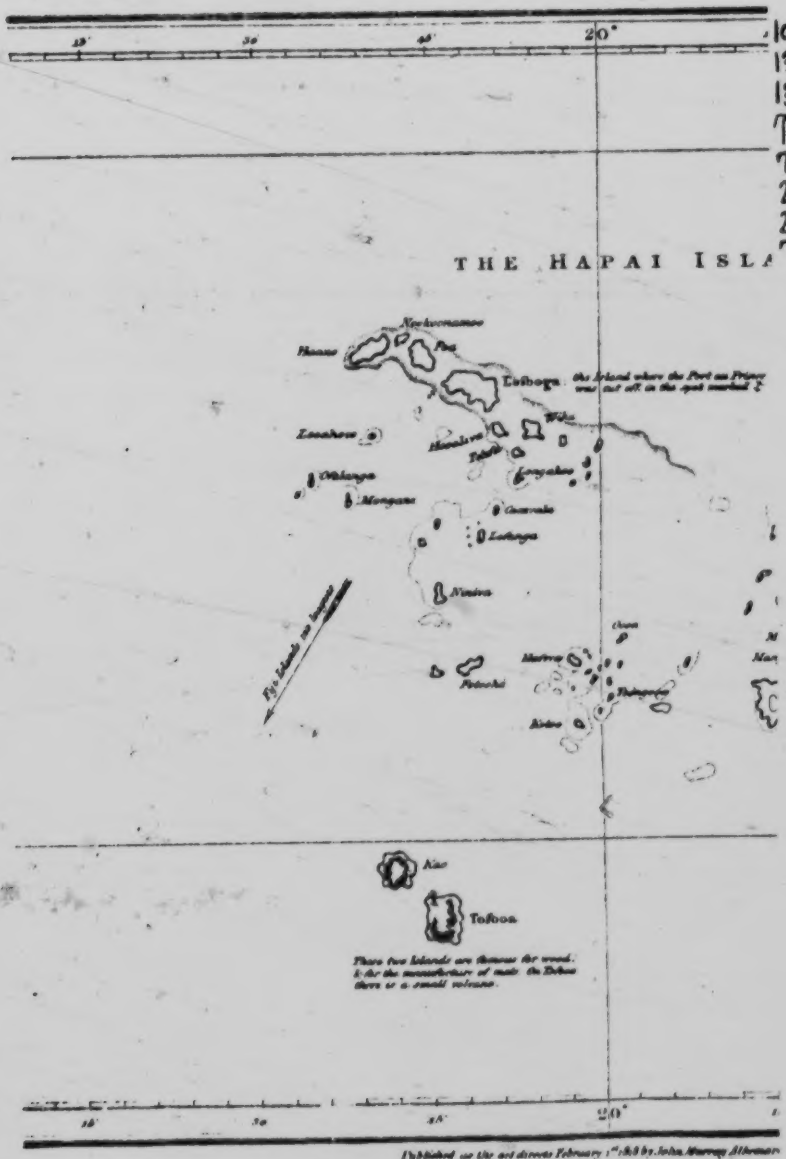
2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818 OU9 Tonga OU9



102
131
133
712
778
241
285
721

[FACING p. 1-A]

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818 . OU9 Tonga OU9



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[FACING p. 1-B]

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818 OU9 Tonga OU9

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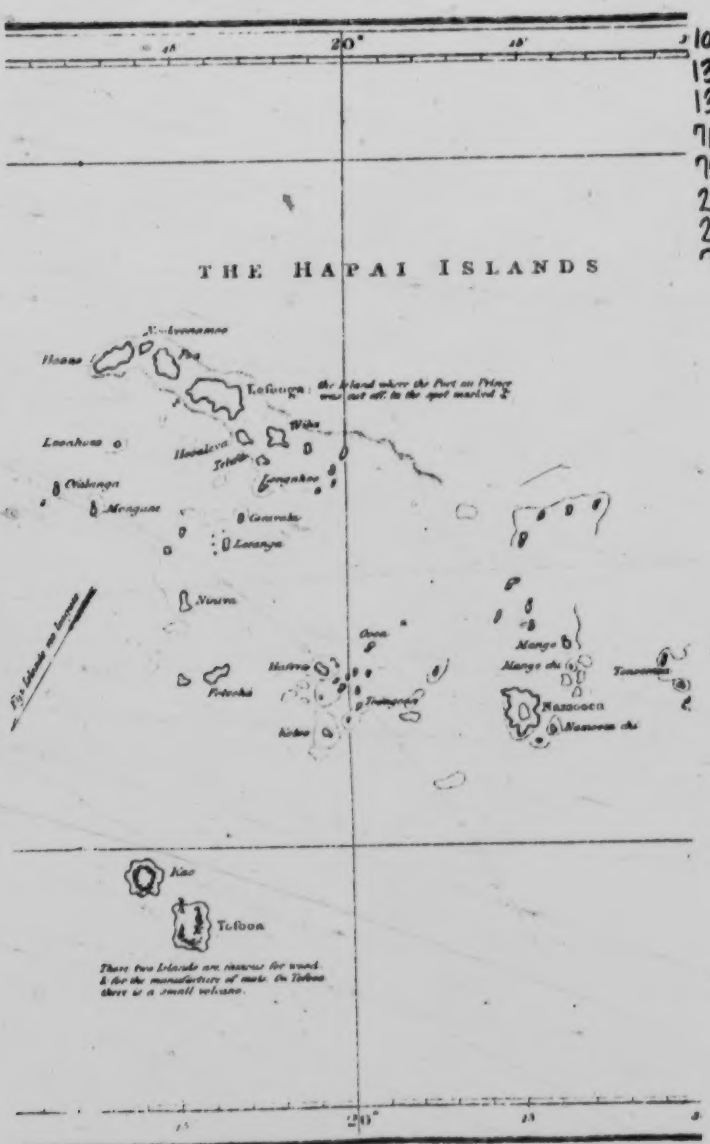
THE HAPAI ISLANDS
Lefooga
Nomuka
Kao
Tofoa
These two Islands are resorted for wood & for the manufactory of mats. On Tofoa there is a small volcano.

Published as the act directs February 1st 1813 by John Murray Albemarle Street London.

[FACING P. 1-C]

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818 OU9 Tonga OU9

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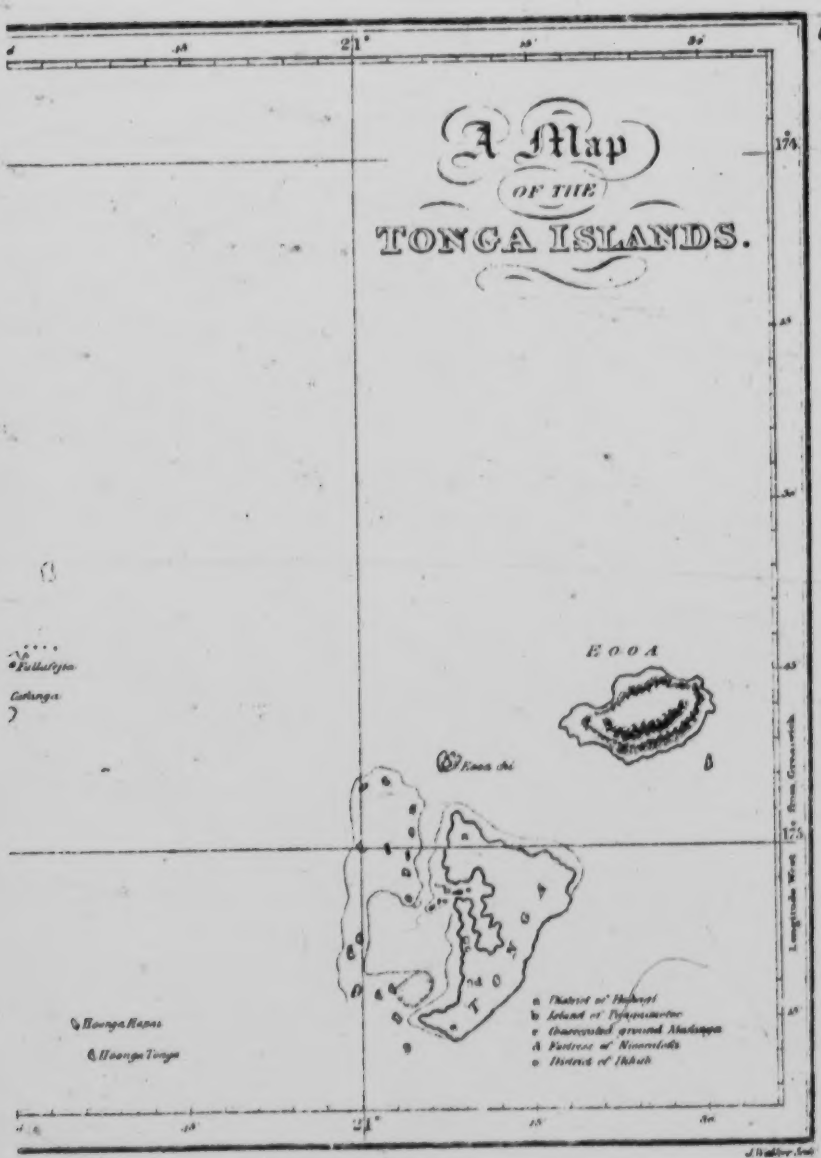

[FACING P.1-D]

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

634 175 669 726 [727] [565] from their hiding-places. This mode of warfare so exasperated Finow, who was not on such occasions of the mildest temper, that he gave orders that all prisoners who were chiefs should be reserved for future and exemplary punishment. The contest lasted about fourteen or fifteen days, during which time the two chiefs separated, and scoured the island all over, conquering wherever they met with opposition. At [651] length Voona, the chief of Vavaoo, having fled to Hamoa (the Navigator's islands) with a canoe full of other chiefs, Finow found himself master of the whole place, and was declared king, but he gave up the government of it to Toobó Nuha, as a sort of viceroy, to pay him an annual tribute. The prisoners, at least all that were chiefs, were punished and put to death by means too revolting to the feelings to mention. All affairs being settled at Vavaoo, Finow returned to the Hapai islands, to meditate future attempts upon the island of Tonga.

175 669 727

In the mean time affairs went on very badly at Tonga: Toogoo Ahoo left neither son nor brother to succeed him; but he had several distant relations, who put in claims for the sovereignty: thus was a violent civil contention induced, and the island was soon divided into several petty states. In the course of a little time, each party had built a fort for itself, so

175 669 643

175 669 712

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

that there were at least twelve or thirteen different garrisoned places upon the island; each, in a state of warfare with all the rest, was determined to maintain its claims as long as it had strength to do so. Thus was the island of Tonga, to which war had hitherto been a stranger, torn by civil strife, and at times given up a prey to famine, a situation worse perhaps than that under the tyranny of Toogoo Ahoo. Besides their domestic troubles, every year they were disturbed by attacks from Finow, who made it his annual custom to make a descent upon one or other of their fortresses, and sometimes upon several of them in the same season; but they were all so well fortified and intrenched, that their enemy, however powerful, consisting of the Hapai people, under the command of Finow, and the Vavaoo people, under that of Toobó Nuha, had never succeeded, at the time of Mr. Mariner's first arrival, in taking or destroying a single fort; that is to say, during the space of seven or eight years.

This piece of history Mr. Mariner heard not only from Finow, but also from Toobo Nuha, Tooitonga, and a number of other chiefs, as well also, though in detached portions, from several of the inhabitants of the island of Tonga, and has found an uniform agreement and con-

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

726 669 634 431 276 returned to the beach, where a large root of cava was brought to them as a present, by the chief of the consecrated place, on which they regaled.

796 During this time, the greater part of the forces in the canoes employed themselves in 669 preparing for battle, again painting their bodies 726 and faces after various fanciful forms. The [714] enemy on shore were also in a state of preparation: they shouted the war-whoop, and ran up and down the beach with furious gestures; splashing up the water with their clubs, brandishing them in the air, flourishing their spears, and bidding bold defiance to their invaders.

Finow and his attendants having returned on 712 board, the whole fleet proceeded to a neigh- [669] bouring fortress called Nioocalofa, the strongest, [726] though not the largest, in the whole island. As it will be proper to understand the usual form and construction of these Tonga fortresses, we shall give a general description of them, taking that of Nioocalofa as a model for the rest.

The fortress of Nioocalofa is situated on the western coast of the island, about one hundred yards distant from the water's edge, occupying 712 about four or five acres of ground. It con- 349 sists, in the first place, of a strong wall or fencing of reeds, something like wicker-work, supported

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

on the inside by upright posts, from six to nine inches in diameter, and situated a foot and a half distant from each other; to which the reed-work is firmly lashed by tough sinnet, made of the husk of the cocoa-nut. This fencing is about nine feet in height, the post rising about a foot higher: it has four large entrances, as well as several small ones, secured on the inside by horizontal sliding pieces, made of the wood of the cocoa-nut tree. Over each door, as well as at other places, are erected platforms even with the top of the fencing, supported chiefly on the inside, but projecting forward to the extent of two or three feet: these platforms are about nine feet square, and situated fifteen yards distant from each other; and as they are intended for the men to stand on, to shoot arrows, or throw down large stones, they are also defended in front, and half way on each side, by a reed-work six feet high, with an opening in front, and others on either hand, for the greater convenience of throwing spears, &c. The lower fencing has also openings for a similar purpose. On the outside is a ditch of nearly twelve feet deep, and as much broad; which, at a little distance, is encompassed by another fencing similar to the first, with platforms, &c. on the outside of which there is a second ditch. The earth dug out of these ditches forms a bank on

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

712
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[531]

each side, serving to deepen them. Opposite each large doorway, there is no ditch dug. The inner and outer fencings are ornamented profusely with white shells. Some of these fortifications are square, others round. That of Nioocalofa was round.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

634 669 727 The king, having finished this affair, began to think of returning to Pangaimotoo: Mr. Mariner, indeed, endeavoured to persuade him to follow up the advantages of his victory by immediately laying siege to another fortress, which, no doubt, would soon have fallen into their hands; and the whole island, being struck with dismay, would readily have submitted to his government. But, it seems, Finow was not yet the complete warrior; or he thought, perhaps, that, having such powerful weapons in his possession, he could reduce the island at any future time.

727 [131] Pangaimotoo is not more than three quarters of a mile distant from the island of Tonga, separated from it only by a long narrow reef. [484] To this place Finow returned with all his men, intending to go back to Tonga another day. [262] As soon as they landed, they sat down to eat, not having taken any refreshment since morning, with the exception of some of the men, whose stomachs not being the most delicate, had partaken of some yams and plantains that they found roasting along with the bodies of the dead in the general conflagration at Niooca-lofa.

727 349 712 They remained several days at this island, during which time several canoes were sent to an uninhabited part of Tonga for the

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

purpose of procuring reeds to rebuild the fortress of Nioocalofa. This step was taken by the admonition of the gods, who were consulted on the occasion through the medium of the priests.

As the invocation of the gods, and inspiration of the priests, are circumstances that will often occur in the course of this work, it will be well to take the present opportunity of describing them.

The night previous to the consultation of the oracle, the chief orders his cooks to kill and prepare a hog, and to procure a basket of yams, and two bunches of ripe plantains. These things being got ready, the next morning they are carried to the place where the priest resides, or wherever he may be at that time: the priest is sometimes previously apprised of the circumstance, at other times not. The chiefs and matabooles clothe themselves in mats, and repair to the place where the priest is to be found: if it be at a house, the priest seats himself just within the eaves *; if at a distance, he seats himself on any convenient spot of ground, and the matabooles seat themselves on either hand, so as would form a circle, or rather an ellipsis, if

* Their houses are built somewhat in form of a shed, open all round, and the eaves coming within about four feet of the ground.

2: Mariner F-S (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

Toogoo Ahoo, the late king of Tonga, who it may be recollected was assassinated by Finow and Toobó Nuha. When this young chief returned to Hapai, Mr. Mariner, who was upon a footing of great friendship with him, one day asked him how he felt himself, when the spirit of Toogoo Ahoo visited him; he replied that he could not well describe his feelings, but the best he could say of it was, that he felt himself all over in a glow of heat and quite restless and uncomfortable, and did not feel his own personal identity as it were, but seemed to have a mind different from his own natural mind, his thoughts wandering upon strange and unusual subjects, although perfectly sensible of surrounding objects. He next asked him how he knew it was the spirit of Toogoo Ahoo? his answer was, "there's a fool! how can I tell you *how* I knew it; I felt and knew it was so by a kind of consciousness; my *mind* told me that it was Toogoo Ahoo." Finow used occasionally to be inspired by the ghost of Moomooi, a former king of Tonga.

We must now return to Finow and his army at the island of Pangaimotoo.

A sufficient quantity of reeds and stakes having been procured, Finow and his army left Pangaimotoo and landed at Nioocalofa, for the purpose of rebuilding the colo (or fortress.) The

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

plan was marked out somewhat different from the former, and larger, as being judged more suitable to their views; a vast number of hands were employed, and in two days the building was finished: a few alterations and additions were afterwards made as occasion and convenience required. During the time this was about, several of the men got dangerously wounded by falling into the *lovosás* and *sokies* *, of which there were several on the land side of the *colo*. They were also much annoyed by the smell of the dead bodies that lay every where about, but which they did not take the trouble to bury, as they were enemies, and none of them their relations †. The canoes were now hauled up on the beach, and a strong fencing of stakes driven round them. The four guns were drawn into the fortress, and one placed at each door.

A few days afterwards a small party who went up into the country according to their daily custom, for the purpose of gathering

* Lovosás are pit-falls, dug five feet deep and four broad; several stakes of bamboo are driven into the bottom and sharpened. Sokies are smaller holes, with one stake in, and large enough to admit a man's leg. These *lovosas* and *sokies* are covered over with slender sticks concealed from sight by plantain leaves and earth.

† The bodies that were found within the confines of the fortress they were of course obliged to remove, and these were thrown for the most part into the sea, which occasioned a greater number of sharks to frequent the place for a time.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

build a large and strong fortress, and to put themselves in a state of defence against any incursions that Finow might make upon them, or, rather, which Toobó Toa might urge him to make.

The proposed fortress was to be the largest that ever was known in the Tonga islands, to be, in short, a fortified town, capable of holding all the inhabitants of Vavaoo (about 8000 in number), with their houses and burying-places, to be built round the Mooa*, and constructed, as usual, of reed fencings, much on the same plan as that of Nioocalofa, formerly described, but to be surrounded by a deep and firm-set bank of solid clay, about twelve feet high, with a ditch on the inner side of it, from which the clay would be furnished, and thus be proof against the guns: within this ditch, and next the fencing, was to be another bank of clay, smaller than the other. The whole of the materials of the fencing was to be proportionably strong and good.

Among a great deal of information which the old mataboole communicated, was that respecting the bravado of a Vavaoo warrior, who declared his utter contempt of the guns. It is customary for every professed warrior, before

* The chiefs' houses are generally situated together, and this place is called the Mooa, the metropolis of the island.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

for him as an individual, but, as they were determined to live free, they would neither propose nor accept of any other terms. The king then ordered his matabooles to conduct him to his canoe, and, turning towards the Vavaoo people, said, "Live, then, among yourselves "in idleness, and we will return to Hapai."

During the time that Finow was addressing the Vavaoo people, the matabooles and warriors that surrounded his canoe (among whom was Mr. Mariner) appeared much moved, and several shed tears, for his powers of persuasion were such, that, in defending his own cause, he seemed to be the most worthy, the most innocent, and the most unjustly used: on this account the greater chiefs and old matabooles of Vavaoo remained in the fortress, fearing to listen to his arguments, lest, being drawn aside by the power of his eloquence, they might mistake that for true which was not, and even lead the young and ardent warriors into an error, by persuading them that what he said was reasonable and just.

The fortress, on the top of a steep rising ground, as seen from the canoes, presented a most formidable and warlike appearance: its extent seemed enormous, and the tops of the white reeds, which were seen at a distance above the banks of red clay, the whole being

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

712 strongly illuminated by the sun, represented to the imagination of Mr. Mariner the spears and javelins of ancient heroes, drawn up in battle [714] array. On the top of the banks a number of warriors, armed with clubs and spears, were running to and fro, with fine light streamers,* full thirteen feet long, attached to their heads and arms, which, floating in the wind, produced a most romantic effect.

484 The king and his matabooles being now re-
634 turned to their canoe, the expedition proceeded out of the inlet, and arrived shortly at a small island, on which they landed, and strip-[722] ped it of almost all its cava root. It is here proper to mention, that all the islands adjacent to Vavaoo were deserted by order of Toe Oomoo, that the people might be more safely situated in or near the fortress, in case of an invasion. The three canoes afterwards proceeded a little farther onward, and put in for the night at a small island, called Hoonga, about two miles from Vavaoo. The next morning they resumed their voyage, and arrived at Haano, the nearest of the Hapai islands, in the afternoon.

[824] * These streamers consist of the fine membrane stripped off from the under side of the cocoa-nut leaf.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

669 712 The next morning, after the men had refreshed themselves, armed parties were sent out to cut reeds, for the purpose of building a fortress at Nëäfoo: Finow and his principal chiefs remained to lay out the plan, whilst others were employed in digging a ditch about fourteen feet wide and ten feet deep. The spot on which this fortress was planned out was so situated, that one side was close upon the sea-shore, on a steep rocky bank, and therefore required no further defence, for the enemy had no large canoes, having broken up all they had to make small ones, and with these it would be imprudent to venture as far as Neafoo, lest their retreat should be cut off by Finow's larger and swifter canoes. In the course of the day the 669 726 fencing and ditch were tolerably well completed, so that the following night the greater 164 part of the army slept on shore; but they were 165 not without alarm, for about midnight, a small party of the enemy having come down to reconnoitre, looked through the openings of some part of the fencing that was not quite finished, and seeing several of the men sitting round a

[705 262] and turbot, and found the assertion perfectly correct: all the preparation necessary, is to take off the skin, and wash the fish with a little salt water; it will then taste as relishing as the oyster, and very similar to it. If we eat the oyster raw, why not other fish?

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

fire conversing together, they threw several spears at them, which wounded many, and struck all with a panic: the whole garrison was instantly in a state of confusion; and a great number so far lost their presence of mind as to endeavour to make their escape on board the canoes; in this attempt, forgetting that it was low water, they leapt from off the banks, and fell upon the shelf of rocks below, in consequence of which several of them had broken arms and legs, and sundry contusions, which, together with the fright, producing universal spasm (tetanus *) in some of them, caused their death a day or two afterwards. In about a quarter of an hour the alarm perfectly subsided, and they passed the rest of the night quietly.

669 726 [164] [165]

During the following day the fencing was completed, and a second ditch was planned round the former; this, however, was to be without any fencing, that the guns might be brought to bear more readily upon the enemy, in case they should make a descent upon Nëá-foo. This ditch was to be eighteen feet wide, and about ten deep. In three days it was dug, and the fortress completed. In the mean time the canoes were hauled up within the fencing, but no active operations were effected on either

669 712

669 723

* Their mode of treating this disease, and their success in sometimes curing it, will be related under its proper head.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

669 726 784 761 death as a punishment for his late offence. This too was the general opinion of the people, and was the subject of their conversation for a long time afterwards, contributing to spread a considerable gloom throughout the garrison. Palavali died about half an hour after he was brought home.

669 723 [728] [634] [726] [712] Finow already began to grow tired of the war: it was a kind of conflict not suited to his genius, he loved rather a few hard fought engagements and a speedy conquest. The enemy shewed no disposition to come forth from their strong hold and attack him; and he had found by experience, that even the guns produced no sensible effect upon their fortification, situated upon an eminence, and defended by walls of clay*. He heartily wished for a peace, but he did not choose that his wish should be known, lest it should be attributed to fear or any other unworthy motive; in short, he wanted to bring about a peace, without being thought to *wish* for it; and the difficulty was to accomplish this.

669 634 728

[727] * Mr. Mariner could easily have devised a method to set the enemy's fortress on fire; but he considered Toe Oomoo's cause quite as just as that of Finow, and although the latter was his friend and benefactor, yet he had more than half assisted in the assassination of a man of admirable character (Toobo Nuha) who was also Mr. Mariner's friend; besides, he did not choose to be the means of dealing out destruction upon a number of innocent women and children.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

notched and blooded it a good deal, and pretend it was done in the battle against a living foe; but such things are always suspected, and held in ridicule.

Finow having for a considerable time inspected the fortification, praising every where the judgment with which it was planned, retired to the house which had formerly belonged to Toobó Nuha, where he passed the night. The following morning he summoned a general meeting of all the inhabitants of Vavaoo, which was soon accomplished, as the people were all at one or other of the two fortresses. He then gave directions to all the principal men respecting the cultivation of the country, which the late war had reduced to a sad state. He commanded that every one should be as frugal as possible in his food, that the present scarcity might be recompensed with future abundance. He ordered his fishermen to supply him and his chiefs with plenty of fish, that the consumption of pork might be lessened. Having settled these matters, he next gave orders that the large fortress of Felletoa should be taken down, its fencing carried away by any body who might want it, its banks levelled with the ground, and its ditches filled up; urging, as his reason, that there was no necessity for a garrisoned place in time of peace, particularly

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

in a spot which could be so much better employed for building an additional number of more commodious dwellings. The fortress of Neafoo, he said, might remain, for it was a place not convenient to live at, and therefore it was not worth while to take any trouble about it. These were his ostensible reasons, but his real motives were easy to be seen into: he was apprehensive, that, in the event of another insurrection, his enemies might again possess themselves of this strong hold; but as to the other fortress, if he did not succeed in securing it for himself, he could easily dispossess his enemies of it, by destroying it with his carronades whenever he thought proper.

These orders were begun immediately to be put into execution, under the inspection of the chiefs of the different districts of the island. The following day the king gave orders to Toobo Toa to proceed back to the Hapai islands, of which he constituted him tributary chief; the tributes* were to be sent to Vavaoo

* The tribute generally consists of yams, mats, *gnatoo*, dried fish, live birds, &c.; and is levied upon every man's property in proportion as he can spare. The quantity is sometimes determined by the chief of each district, though generally by the will of each individual, who will always take care to send quite as much as he can well afford, lest the superior chief should be offended with him, and deprive him of all that he has. This tribute is paid twice a year; once

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

CHAPTER XIV.

The large fortress of Felletoa rebuilt—The late king appears to Foonagi (a female chief) in a dream—The charm of Tattao—Tonga-mana arrives from the Hapai islands respecting the Inachi—Certain political views arising from this circumstance—Permission granted to Toobó Tóa to come to Vavaoo to perform the usual ceremonies at Finow's grave—His conduct on this occasion—His astonishment at the warlike appearance of the new garrison—Arrival of *Lulokea cow Kefoo* from Hapai—Great storm of thunder and lightning; its effects on the minds of the people—Dreams of a number of women, predicting the death of Tooitonga—Illness of Tooitonga—The fingers of several children cut off as sacrifices to the gods—Several children strangled—Tooitonga's death—His burial—The king prepares himself to perform the usual ceremonies at his father's grave—Accident of Mr. Mariner's sneezing: his quarrel with the king on this account: his after conduct: their reconciliation.

Soon after the burial of the late king, Finow Fiji proposed to his nephew (the present king) to rebuild the large garrison at Felletoa, which might serve as a strong and impenetrable fortification, in case of attack from a foreign enemy: besides which, he justly observed, that the garrison being rebuilt, it might serve as a place of residence for all the chiefs and great warriors; a measure in itself highly political, as it would

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

712 prevent the seditious from forming cabals and
[721] parties, which they might more easily do whilst
[661] living at a distance up the country, than they could under the eyes of the king. But it was not proposed that they should reside constantly at the garrison, and, by that means, neglect their plantations in the country, but that each should have a house built with the usual conveniences for his wife and family, within the fencing, to reside in at night, visiting his plantations during the day; or to retire to wholly, in case of invasion, civil commotion, and when-
[634] ever the king should order him to do so. This proposal of Finow Fiji being assented to by the king, the former requested permission to have the sole management of laying out the plan, and to see it carried into effect, which the latter readily agreed to.

668 During the time the garrison was being re-
754 built, a circumstance happened which seemed
634 to indicate that a conspiracy was on the eve of being formed, if not actually begun, and, as the circumstance alluded to is connected with a certain superstitious ceremony worthy of detail, we shall be particular in the description of it, and give the account of it exactly as it happened.

[83] Foonagi, the wife of Finow Fiji, and formerly the wife of Tymomangnoongoo (a great warrior,

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

668 the better to convince them of this, he feigned
754 to imagine that the bits of buried gnatoo, &c.
634 must have been hidden there by some dogs in
661 their play: by expressing himself in this way, he was in hopes of emboldening the conspirators to proceed with less caution in their plan, under the idea that he was off his guard. All this precaution, however, and studied policy, were unnecessary, as no signs of conspiracy became evident, and, perhaps, no conspiracy existed.
712 In the mean time, the building and fortifying the garrison with extra ditches went on with dispatch, and, in a short time, was completed to the perfect satisfaction of Finow.

486 Shortly after the fortress was finished, a canoe
628 arrived from the Hapai islands with Tonga-
634 mana, a chief of the line of Tooitonga, who
651 came from Toobó Toa, with a request to know
643 how the *inachi** was to be sent to Tooitonga, seeing that Finow had declared that no communication whatever was to be kept up with Ha-
[292] pai. As all on board were habited in mats,
[301] with leaves of the ifi tree round their necks, as a token of submission, and that they came upon
486 a religious duty, they were permitted to land.
628 After having presented cava to several conse-
634 crated houses, they came before Finow, and

765 * The annual tribute of the first fruits of each island, to
276 Tooitonga.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

with his men to the canoes, in which the following morning he departed for Hapai.

Toobo Toa was greatly pleased with the appearance of the garrison, declaring that he had never seen any thing so warlike and formidable, not even at the Fiji islands, where he had lived several years. Finow had indeed given the strictest orders to make every thing appear in as good a state as possible, producing a tasteful display of clubs, spears, and arrows, arranged against the houses, with wreaths of flowers and certain warlike decorations. Upon the whole, when the size and strength of the place, with its situation, was taken into consideration, it was, perhaps, by far the most formidable fortification that had ever been established in any of those clusters of islands, in the midst of the southern ocean.

About a month after the departure of Toobo Toa, during which time nothing particular occurred, a fisherman from one of the neighbouring islands brought word that a small canoe had been seen coming in a direction from Hapai. In a short time the canoe itself arrived, bringing one of Finow's principal warriors, Lolo Hea Cow Keifoo, and his two brothers, young lads, who had been at the Hapai islands in consequence of the illness of their father, who had resided there, but was since

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

timents of these young chiefs, to prevent the discontent and disturbance which might otherwise take place. The canoe was now ordered to leave Vavaoo for the last time, and never more to return, for if she or any other canoe should again make her appearance from Hapai, her approach would be considered hostile, and proper measures would accordingly be adopted. At this moment, the women on the beach earnestly petitioned Finow to be allowed to take a last farewell of their dear and beloved mistress, which on being agreed to, nearly two hours were taken up in this affecting scene.

From this time Finow devoted his attention to the cultivation of the island; and the exertions of this truly patriotic chief were so far successful that the country soon began to promise the appearance of a far more beautiful and cultivated state than ever: nor did he in the mean time neglect those things which were necessary for the better defence of the place, and accordingly the fortress underwent frequent examination and improvements.

In the midst of these occupations, however, a circumstance happened which might have been the cause of much civil disturbance. It is well worth relating, as it affords an admirable character of one of the personages concerned, and shews a principle of honour and generosity of

4: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1923 009 Tonga 009

103 **Koiofoou.** New village [koio, village; foou, new]. Village on Tongatabu island (T). Eastern portion of Nukualofa island.

Koiohotua. A town behind you [koio, town; ho, you; tua, back]. Tract on Moungaone island (H).

Koioi. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord.

Koioipoia. Village with the platted coconut leaves [koio, village; i, with; poia, the coconut leaf platted for thatch, and other purposes]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Koioivai. Village by the water [koio, village; i, by; vai, water]. Tract on Ofu island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord.

Koiokakaia. Flower village [koio, village; kakaia, flowers]. A nickname for Tatakamotonga and Lapaha, Tongatabu island (T), current some years ago on account of abundance of flowers there.

Koiokimuli. Village among foreigners [koio, village; ki, among; muli, foreigners]. Said to be a new name bestowed by the Premier of Tonga upon the site of his residence. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Longoteme, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Veikune, landlord. Also district in Tongatabu island (T)—Tuita, landlord. Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract near Mua, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Koiokinima. Village for five [koio, village; ki, for; nima, five]. Tract near Haavakatolo, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ahomee, landlord.

Koiokitonga. Village for Tongans, i.e., people from Tongatabu [koio, village; ki, for; tonga, Tongatabu]. Tract near Felemea, village on Uiha island (H).

Koiokula. Red village [koio, village; kula, red]. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.

Koiomaile. Myrtle village [koio, village; maile, myrtle]. Former village on Pylstaart island (T). Also village on Eua island (T); named after Koiomaile on Pylstaart island; also called Haatua. Also tract on Ovaka island (V).

Koiomo. Tract on Fonoifua island (H)—Tui Afitu, landlord.

Koiomotua. Old town [koio, town; motua, old]. District near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). The western portion of Nukualofa. The tracts which have gone to make up Koiomotua are Haavaka, Haahio, Haamea, Haaloto, Haavakaotua, Haasini, Haatelie, Haafakaafe. Also tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord. Tract near Kapa, village on Kapa island. Also tracts in and near Falevai, village on Kapa island (V)—Fakatulolo, landlord. Also tract on Oloua island (V). Also tract near Koioa, village on Koioa island (V). Also tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract on Niuafoou island (NF).

Koionea. Colony. Tract near Toula, village on Vavau island (V).

Koioneuio. Village which blazed [koio, village; ne, sign of the past tense; uio, to blaze]. Waves on Tongatabu island (T). On the weather shore.

Koioni. This village [koio, village; ni, this]. Tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu island (V).

Koionukunuku. Fortress near Nukunuku, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Koionga. A house used in connection with pigeon snaring. Tract in Kanokupolu, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also village on Tongatabu island (T).

Koiongahau. Village of arrows [koio, village; ngahau, arrow]. Tract near Fangaleounga, village on Fon island (H)—Niukapu, landlord.

Koiopelehake. Fortress of the Tui Pelehake, a chief. Fortress on Tongatabu island (T). A ditch and fortress wall extending across Tongatabu island, cutting off Hihifo from rest of island. Built by Tui Pelehake against inroads of Vahai, a Hihifo chief.

[712]

4: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1923 009 Tonga 009

Matakeke. Different, strange in appearance. Tract near Utulau, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Fatumu, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Mua, village on Niuafoou island (NF). 103

Matakiano. To spy in a marsh [mataki, to spy; ano, a marsh]. Tract on Nomuka island (H).

Matakiata. To be seen at dawn [mata, to be seen; ki, at; ata, dawn]. Place on Eua island (T). The place where the diviner (tongafisi) Hama lived within the tract Halahu. From this place he is reputed to have made observations which led to the discovery of Ata (Pylstaart) island, the most southerly land of the Tongan archipelago. Also tract in Folaha, village on Tongatabu island (T). [173]

Matakiena. That traitor [mataki, traitor; ena, that]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Matakieua. The edge towards Eua [mata, edge; ki, towards; eua, the island of Eua]. Place on southeastern shore of Tongatabu island (T).

Matakifisi. The edge towards Fiji [mata, edge; ki, towards; fisi, Fiji]. Tract near Foui, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vahai, landlord. Also tract on Hunga island (V)—Fulivai, landlord.

Matakifoa. The edge towards Foa [mata, edge; ki, towards; foa, Foa island]. Tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

Matakifotola. The edge towards Fotola [mata, edge; ki, towards]. Tract near Mataika, village on Vavau island (V).

Matakifotula. The edge towards Fotula [mata, edge; ki, towards]. Tract in Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Matakihaamoa. The edge towards Samoa [mata, edge; ki, towards; haamoa, Samoa]. Tract near Leimatua, village on Vavau island (V)—Fotu, landlord.

Matakihunga. The edge towards Hunga [mata, edge; ki, towards; hunga, Hunga island, Vavau group]. Tract on Hunga island (V). Also tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.

Matakilangi. The edge towards the sky [mata, edge; ki, towards; langi, sky]. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.

Matakilaotala. The edge towards Laotala [mata, edge; ki, towards]. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.

Matakilikili. Boundary of black pebbles [mata, boundary; kilikili, small black pebbles used to decorate graves]. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Haatafu, Kolovai—Ata, landlord, and Malapo—Luani, landlord.

Matakimango. Edge towards Mango [mata, edge; ki, towards; mango, Mango island, Haapai group]. Tract near Fahefa, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Veehala, landlord. Also tract on Tungua island (H).

Matakimoana. Edge towards the ocean [mata, edge; ki, towards; moana, ocean]. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.

Matakiniua. Edge towards Niua [mata, edge; ki, towards; niua, Niuatoputapu island]. Tract on Fonoifua island (H)—Tui Afitu, landlord. Also northernmost headland of Vavau island (V).

Matakiofu. Edge towards Ofu [mata, edge; ki, towards; ofu, Ofu island, Vavau group]. Tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu island (V). Also tract on Ofu island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord.

Matakiono. Edge towards Ono [mata, edge; ki, towards; ono, a tract in Vavau island]. Tract on Ofu island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord.

Matakitau. War spy [mataki, spy; tau, war]. Fortress on Eua island (T). A fortified elevation more than 1000 feet above sea level, on southeastern part of Eua; said to have been fortified by hero Tuutaki. [773] [712]

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

669 726 not known to be a woman till she uncovered her breasts after the fighting. Ata is said to have defeated Finau at some time before the battle Fakalelemoa, on the sea flats near Foui. In this fight Finau was opposed by the warrior Vikena of Utulau, who had previously been a follower of 669 Finau. Finau made the remark to Vikena, while they were in Haapai or 726 Vavau, "The unsatisfactory part of my going to Tonga to fight is that 634 there is nobody there to stand up to me." Vikena replied that he would go to Tonga and stand up to him. So Vikena came and warned the Hihifo chiefs to get ready, for Finau was coming. When Finau arrived a battle was fought inland, and Finau's force broke and fled, Vikena pursuing Finau.

When Vikena came within spear's reach of Finau he called him to stand and turn. Finau turned, and Vikena, sitting down, said, "Go alive; I'll go and die." The god Fonokitangata of Utulau had told Vikena that he would deliver Finau into his hand, and that if he did not kill him he himself must die. Vikena told Finau that he did not forget his share in his glory and kindness. So, letting Finau go, he went and died, and is said to be buried in Hihifo.

Finau it seems, soon saw that his hope of winning permanent power in Tongatabu was small, and he instituted his practice of yearly raids, destroying crops and harassing the country, in which Mariner participated.

669 701 712 [192] [763] [778] The greatest warrior, and most effectively powerful chief, at this time in Tongatabu was Vahai, who lived in Polonga with Vaea, Valu, Takai, and Fae. After the death of Vahai they disbanded. Takai and Fae fortified Pea. Even before the death of Vahai this fortification had been commenced. Pea had previously served Takai as a fowl run, because there was much of the plant *ate* there, which served as fowl feed. Vahai is called the *hau*, king, not because he was Tui Kanokupolu, but because he was the greatest warrior and leader. When he became weak, and it was clear that he would die, he sent for Takai and gave him his mana, by rubbing a piece of the stem of the plantain tree between his hands, and then putting it on the hands of Takai, at the same time telling him to receive his *hau* (lordship). When Vahai's death was reported Takai and Fae were busy fortifying Pea. They completed their fortifications before they went to the funeral ceremonies. After the burial of Vahai, Vaea fortified Houma, and Valu fortified Utulau.

643 [613] For some years after the death of Tukuaho there was no effective king in Tonga. The Tui Tonga had not sufficient power left to control the situation. The chiefs of the Haa Ngata, with whom was the choice, within fairly strict limits, and installation of the Tui Kanokupolu, attempted to meet the position by installing an outsider, Maafuolimuloa, who belonged to the Haa Havea and not to the Haa Ngata. The reason of this is said

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

Ke ma vaeua hano mamahi.
Pe 'oku mo'oni e talanoa ni
'Oku lau koe me'a fakafai
'E he Sina'e mo Atele-vai,
Mo Nuku'alofa na'e kau ai?
Kae 'ikai pupunu leva hala ni
Ke mou manatu, 'a Fale-fa ni,
Koe kainga loto liaki
'Oku kolo ki honau 'atamai.
Kolo ena fa'ahi-tau ki tahi,
Koe hala ia 'oe pekipaki,
Pe ha lofa ne vakai matangi.
Ko me'a koa ho fehu'i mai
Kia siva ne ona e faiva ni,

Ene tuli va'e melemelekaki,
'O mafuli 'o 'ikai ha e tali?

E ngalo afe toto mai?

Na'e 'a ofo 'o tatali hono api,
Ka ka hola e puaka inu vai,
'O fakamahalo mei Ha'apai
Pe kohai e lika ange mai.
'Oku 'ilo koe api si'aki.
Tau fe'auhi 'uli'ulingaki,
Tautau pe ke popo e langi,
Pe hao ki tafatafaaki-langi.
Uisa he anga e,
Uisa he anga moe kovi e,
Kuo fai ai e manavahe.
Uisa he anga e,
Uisa he anga moe kovi e,
Kuo fai ai e hola vale,
'Osi na'e fai ko homou loto;
'Alu ki Fisi ene kapa kolo,
Kae tuku e eva he kau popo.

Liku 'o Hihifo e,
Kuo ta maheni ai mo koe,
Kaloafu maka Teuhie,
Hehea e he.

To share his pain.
Is this rumor true
That says 'twas a thing brought about
By the Sinae and Atelevai,
And that Nukualofa shared in it?
But this way is not straightway closed
That you may remember, O Falefa,
That folk whose faith is complete
Have a stronghold in their mind.
The stronghold of yon army is the sea,
The way of the *pekipaki*,
Or a tern that watches the wind.
Dost thou indeed make question
To the experienced whose own is this skill,[13]
Of his swift seeking the foot of the net,
Turn it up and there is nothing to stop them?
When shall the return from defeat be forgotten?[14]
Astonished he awoke in his compound,
But the pig that drinks water had fled,
And from Haapai made his conjectures
As to who would pay him regard.
It is known that it's a place deserted.
Let us strive, not quitting the contest,
Let us fight till the heavens have rotted,
Or he has won o'er the horizon.[15]
Ah me, the way of it,
Ah me, its way and its evil,
Fear has arisen there.
Ah me, the way of it,
Ah me, its way and its evil,
There has been there a foolish flight,
Indeed it was done to your wish;
He has gone to Fiji storming towns,
No longer he walked with a rotten weapon.[16]
Weather shore of Hihifo *e*
Well do I know thee,
Kaloafu and rock Teuhie *e*,
Hehea e he.

ULUKALALA AT FELETOA

This short poem refers to events which occurred while Mariner was in Tonga, and of which he has furnished a somewhat detailed account (28, vol. 1, chapters V, VI, VII). The execution, or murder, by Finau (Ulukalala) of a number of chiefs who had opposed him is also related (op. cit., pp. 229-239).

The fortress of Feletoa, a few miles from Neiafu, where the steamer moors, can still be plainly traced. The roadway runs through a double line of trenches at Fatungakoa (Great foaming in death), a gateway which

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

was the scene of bloody conflicts. After the assassination of Tupou Niua, the great chiefess Toeumu of Vavau entrenched herself at Feletoa against Finau, who accepted this challenge, and attacked the fortress. Hostilities were prolonged and indecisive. Successes won outside the fortress seemed to bring final reduction little nearer, and at last peace was made. At a gathering (*fono*) held at Makave, not far from Feletoa, Finau ordered that 18 of the chiefs and warriors who had been active against him should be seized. These he condemned to death by being taken out to sea and left bound in leaky canoes. Some begged their executioners to favor them with a more speedy death, and they were accordingly despatched with clubs. Six refused to ask any boon, and the original sentence was carried out on them.

The following prefatory note, which precedes the copy of the poem to which I had access, mentions two names, Naufahu and Pupunu, which are also mentioned by Mariner:

Here's a little talk about Ulukalala in Feletoa. I think he was the tiger of his time, for this is his characteristic, to like the name Angaaefonu (Character of the turtle).' And see his taste for bloodshed; the chiefs that he slew in peace, Naufisi, and Pupunu, and Naufahu, and Fulivai, and Topui, and the dear people that perished with them. They were his own relatives who were taken and bound in Lekeleka (an island in Vavau), and then Toamotu was bidden go and slay these chiefs, but they were his own [Finau's] relatives. And their bodies were bound to a boat, and rocks were put in the boat, and they were taken out to the open ocean, and sunk; and so they were lost. A man went to the island of Fuaamotu [in Vavau], and slept there. He heard the voices of the chiefs that were killed, as they prepared early in the morning to go a voyage. The man heard them get on board, and straightway Fulivai, one of the slain, raised their chant, and this is one verse of their song. [551]

Tufutele moe vai ko Mangia,	Tufutele and the stream Mangia,[1]
Langa hoku 'ofa ki Teisina;	My yearning wells up for Teisina;[2]
Mo emau folau na'e talahia;	And our voyage that was accused;[3]
Na'e afe'i folau 'i Maninita;	The voyage turned aside in Maninita;
Alo-'i-talau, sia ko Kafoa;	Aloitalau, mound Kafoa;[4]
Langa atu 'ofa kii Feletoa,	Yearning wells forth for Feletoa,[5]
'I he tua'a 'i Fatunga-koa.	On the precincts of Fatungakoa.
Amusia pe tavake moe lofa,	Envied are the tropic bird and tern,
Na'e siu mo ake ki Malu-hola.	Who ranged for food and came ashore at Maluhola.[6]
Mo au ni, kuou mounu vaoa.	And this I, I am as a tame pigeon returned to the woods.[7]
'A Olotele moe Siina e,	Olotele and Sina *e*,[8]
Tau moe Tu'i Tonga Fefine.	Befitting the Tui Tonga Fefine.
Ko hotau fonua kua vale—	Our land in its folly—
Tui ki he lea 'ae fefine,	Trust the word of a woman,[9]
Tuanaki-auka ki Makave.	Misplaced confidence at Makave.
Koe fua'anga 'o eke fa'e.	The fruit of my mother."
Mate tahi e, matte ha'i e.	Dead in the sea, dead bound.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

Corresponding lines in the other version refer to the assassination rather differently, laying the emphasis on the self-sacrifice of Kepa. 539

12. I have made a slight textual alteration in this line, changing *ona* to *ona.* The reference is to the departure of Finau to Haapai and Vavau after his victory of Toafa. His escape is pictured in a metaphor of fishing. In the dragnets, or fish fences formed of hanging coconut leaflets strung on a rope, a fish may make its escape by swimming down to the bottom, the foot of the net. 669

13. One or all of the Hihifo chiefs after the defeat of Taofa.

14. "We will fight Finau till we have defeated him or he has made his escape over the horizon."

15. The meaning of this passage is that the chief who went to Fiji storming towns had to use weapons suitable to the stern business of war, for which the baubles of dances and games were useless.

Pages 96-97. Ulukalala at Feletoa

1. This expression, still found, denotes fierceness where gentleness might have been expected. The mother turtle lays her eggs above the highwater mark, and it is said that she lies in wait for the young by the water's edge and kills any of her brood that she catches. 539 634 669

2. Tufutele and Mangia: small streams in Vavau.

3. Teisina: a hill in Vavau. 727

4. The translation of *talahia* as accused is made uncertainly. There is nothing to show that a special voyage is indicated. "Turning aside in Maninita," seems to express the yearning of the spirits for their native land by a trip to various points of attraction and interest. Maninita is one of the islands of Vavau. [551] [103]

5. Aloitalau and Kafoa, hills in Vavau. [103]

6. Feletoa is the fortress which was the center of the fighting; Fatungakoa, the gateway of the fortress. [712]

7. Maluhola: a headland (*matanga*) of Vavau. [103]

8. "Tame pigeon" that is a decoy pigeon returned to the woods (*mouna vaoa*) has the import "one who has relapsed from his high estate," indicating here the pitiful end of one who was a chief and warrior (17 no. 594).

9. Olotele: residence of the Tui Tonga. The name seems to be Samoan, equivalent to the Tongan Kololahi, great town, or fortress. Sina is apparently a place name, but instead of Sina e, might be written Sina'e, the well known branch of the Tui Tonga house, which is formed possibly of children of the female side of that house. Different punctuation would take this and the following line together, and *tau* instead of being translated "fitting," might be translated "warring," thus: [644] [103]

Warring with the Tui Tonga Fefine,
Our land in its folly.

If this version be correct, then Toeumu, the chiefess who fortified Feletoa, was connected with the Tui Tonga, or else the Tui Tonga house was known to be favorable to her cause; perhaps this is a reference to that disposition of Finau, which Mariner mentions, to disown his obligations to the Tui Tonga.

10. This is evidently an expression for reliance on that which is capricious and uncertain. Finau had caused the men to be seized at a gathering of which peace was the ostensible motive. The following line repeats the same idea. Makave is the village at which the fatal gathering was held. (For *tuanaki-auka*, misplaced confidence, see 17 no. 552.)

11. The poet, or imaginary speaker, is connected with Finau on his mother's side.

Pages 98-100. Poem of Mumui

1. It is not implied that the noted chiefs mentioned were contemporary with each other or with Tuakilaumea. Loau, for example, is by some tradition assigned to the period of the Tui Tonga Tuitatui, thirteenth century. Fotofili, if he be the Tui Haatakalaua of that name, belongs to about the middle of the seventeenth century. Probably reference is to Fotofili who founded a chieftainship in Niua Foou six generations ago. Vaeatangitau (Vaea longing for war) may be one of two Tui Haatakalaua of that name, one of whom lived about the beginning of the sixteenth century, and the other about the beginning of the eighteenth century. The meaning here is, that just as 539 644 276 687

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

172 764 The bottom tier, so entirely dominated by the limestone retaining wall that only an interval of 0.7 foot separates the inner edge of the wall from the outer foot of the retaining wall of the second tier, has an apparent outside height of 3.1 feet and an inside height of 3.4 feet. The outer side of the wall is practically perpendicular; the top, 4 feet wide, slopes gently upward toward the foot of the second tier. The individual stones of the lower tier are 8 to 18 feet in length, excepting the L-shaped cornerstone on the southeast corner, which measures 21.3 feet along the eastern side and 6.1 feet along the southern. The northeast cornerstone, also L-shaped, measures 14 feet along the northernmost side and 6 feet along the easternmost. There is a scarf projecting outward from the bottom of the wall, at a level with the adjacent surface of the land, which is 0.3 foot in width at places. This clearly indicates that the stones were finally dressed after having been set in position in the wall. Where the upward sloping top surface of the tier turns the northeast and southeast corners, a sharp though gentle angle is formed by the meeting of the beveled surfaces.

The second tier is 2.3 feet to 4 feet thick and 4.5 feet high. The top surface is horizontal but the outer surface slants from the base toward the mound to such an extent that the outer top edge of the wall is inset 1 foot from the outer base edge. The interval between the inner top edge of this wall and the outer surface of the top tier varies from 0.7 foot to 1 foot. The southeast and northeast corners are marked by large stones cut in an L-shape to turn the corners. The northeast cornerstones measures 4 feet along the northernmost side and 9.5 feet along the easternmost. Stones in this tier are 5 to 10 feet long.

The top tier, ridiculously small in comparison with the two lower, is 1 foot in height and averages 0.6 foot in thickness. It is perpendicularly placed and flat topped. Individual stones entering into its construction average 3 feet in length.

All the large stones in this langi are fashioned from the coral reef limestone, which made it possible to hew out the truly gigantic L-shaped cornerstones. The surfacing is extraordinarily smooth when the porosity of the material used is taken into consideration. All corners except those described are formed by overlapping stones in the usual Tongan manner.

172 764 173 [643] There is no surface evidence of vaults in the langi. Tradition states that it was built by the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I, otherwise known as Telea. According to one story, Telea was drowned and his body never recovered; according to another, he is buried in this langi. The great stones are said to have been carried to Tonga from Uvea on an immense sailing boat called *Lomipeau* (13, p. 67). Uvea is a volcanic island while the stone used in the langi is coral, identical in every way to that of the reef exposures along the nearby coast.

172 764 [712] 27. Pangai (A-meeting-place) on the outskirts of the town of Feletoa, Vavau, between the two moats protecting the eastern outer wall of the old fortress (p. 82).

[177] At first sight this langi appeared to be a Type A structure. However, closer examination disclosed fragmentary portions of three tier walls. The unusual state of ruin characterizing this structure is due to the fact that many stones have recently been removed for building purposes by natives under European influence. This is the only known example of such vandalism in Tonga, and is in no way compatible with the known native attitude toward these monuments.

The dilapidated condition of the langi made it impossible to obtain a complete series of accurate measurements. The mound is now 10 feet high and the bottom platform was originally about 100 feet square. The stones in the retaining wall of the bottom tier are about 2 feet high, those in the top tier about 1.7 feet. The largest stone seen, in the bottom tier, measured 2 feet (apparent height) by 5 feet by 0.8 foot. As a stone adjoining this one had been quite recently removed, the depth to which it

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

the imagination of its perpetrators, a work never again attempted by Tongan stone masons.

Tradition then gives a detailed account of the transfer of royal headquarters from Hahake to Lapaha, the site of the present town of Mua. This remained the home of the Tongan kings until the middle of the nineteenth century. The fortifications surrounding Lapaha, the oldest part of Mua, are reported to have been built by one of the earliest of the Mua-dwelling kings. This statement coincides with the small number of langis to be found inside the fortification. Of the four langis in Lapaha, three are named in the list where they immediately follow the Hahake langi.

Again, the period intervening between Tuitatui and Telea, as represented by number of langis built, closely coincides with the same period as represented in genealogies. Thus, there are 10 langis listed between those said to have been built by Tuitatui and that built by Telea. There were 17 Tui Tonga between these two monarchs, but it is definitely known that more than one king were sometimes buried in a langi.

There is then a certain amount of evidence to support the acceptance of the traditional list of langis at its face value as a chronological record. The decadency of type in the later structures might be explained by the parallel decandency of the power of the Tui Tonga, a traditional and to some extent historical fact. This weakening of the old dynasty of kings was well under way when Cook first visited the group. Great power vested in the king, or in some other leader, was an essential factor in the building of any structure requiring the highly organized labor necessary to the successful building of the largest and finest of the Tongan langis.

There are, however, portions of this supposed chronology which cast doubtful shadows over its chronological value.

In Uhatafe's list the paragraph immediately following the account of the work of Tuitatui refers to the kings Tukuaho, Tuipulotu II, Maulupekotofa, and Pau. These rulers lived about twenty-four generations after Tuitatui, according to Tongan genealogies. This paragraph is therefore certainly out of place in any chronological sequence of events. These same genealogies name fifteen rulers intervening between Nuitamatou, probably the last Tui Tonga to reign before the capitol was moved to Lapaha, and Telea, whereas there are only nine langis in the list assigned to this period. As explained before, there is no necessary discrepancy here. The larger of the langis are said to contain several vaults each. Some kings were also buried abroad, as stated by tradition and as supported by the presence of langis on other islands of the Tongan group. This list, however, places Tuipulotu I in the ninth Mua langi, whereas Telea's langi is number ten. Genealogical data disputes this order in naming Tuipulotu the fourth king following Telea. Of course there is the possibility that Tuipulotu was buried in a tomb belonging to one

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

of the stone. A third petroglyph (fig. 41, *c*, 3) consists of three closely parallel, perpendicular lines of equal length with a fourth, shorter, diagonal line closely adjoining the right side of the group. On the stones of this langi are many other petroglyphs too poorly preserved to permit determining the detail of design. These all occur on the north and east sides.

It seems probably that most of the langi designs served a decorative purpose, although their production may have involved other ideas. The langis were the sacred resting places of the divinely descended kings, and were protected by divinely enforced tapus. The Christian natives of today avoid them. It is therefore reasonably certain that no impromptu inclination or careless and frivolous motive on the part of amateurs is responsible for the production of these drawings. Rather, they must have been authorized details of the langis. It is an interesting possibility that these designs are the initial products of a tendency towards the type of stone wall decoration so highly developed in some of the marae of the Marquesas (14, p. 133).

The Telekivavau petroglyphs are too simple and too few in number to constitute a basis for profitable comparison with the petroglyphs of other Oceanic provinces.

FORTIFICATIONS

Forms

The Tongans built elaborate fortifications. If their strategical or political importance warranted it, towns, even small villages, were protected. Fortifications were not always kept in good repair. When changing conditions decreased the danger of attack, forts were permitted to deteriorate and were not restored to defensive fitness until occasion made it appear necessary.

A fortification consisted of three essential elements: an earthen wall or embankment, several of them in some forts; a fence of upright posts or heavily reinforced reeds surmounting the embankment; a moat, in most forts dry, immediately surrounding the wall elements. Of less importance are lookout platforms and concealed pits serving as man-traps. Such a fort was called *kolo*, or if considered impregnable, *kokomalohi*.

The construction of a *kolo* started with the digging of the moat, the earth from which was thrown up on the inside bank of the ditch to constitute the embankment, *akolo* (a fence), as high and broad as the ditch was deep and broad. The steep, outer slope of the wall merged without a break into the equally steep inner slope of the ditch. Narrow breaks in the ditch, usually adjoining corresponding narrow gateways (*mctanikolo*) in the wall, permitted ingress and egress from the area fortified. The walls and moats

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

of most forts took a circuitous course, and where more than one wall was present, they formed closely spaced concentric circles or ovals.

The fence or palisade surmounting the earthen wall was about 9 feet high and was made of reinforced reed thatching or of upright posts set deep in the earth and held together by courses of vine and bark binding. The combined wall and fence was called *pakelekele* (*pa*, fence; *kelekele*, earth).

Gateways were guarded by platform superstructures, transverse bars to be adjusted in an emergency, and secondary buttresses, or guard walls, defensively covering the way of entrance. Outlook platforms were placed where most needed along the top of the palisade.

The area (*tuakolo*) immediately outside the moat was the site of man-traps: *lovosa* (large traps) and *sokie* (small traps). The *lovosa* were large pits, their bottoms studded with sharpened upright stakes (*soki*) concealed by a covering of poles, brush, and earth too frail to support a man's weight. The *sokie* were small pits suffiiciently large to receive a man's leg and containing a single upright sharpened stake, concealed from the eye of the unsuspecting attacker in a manner similar to that employed in the larger traps. A moat with a bottom equipped with such stakes was called *sokii*.

These forts, properly defended, were exceedingly difficult to take. It speaks well for the courage of the Tongan warriors that they did not hesitate to storm such defenses, often with success. Waterhouse (26, p. 316) states that in Fiji similar forts were seldom taken by local war parties save through inside treachery. The Tongans, as pointed out by Thomson (22, p. 363), under George I Tupou, stormed and took Fijian forts with apparently little trouble.

Erskine (8, p. 75) and Turner (25, p. 191) show that the Tongans surpassed the Samoans as town fortifiers and actually contributed largely towards the perfecting of Samoan forts. It is reasonably certain that diffusion of ideas regarding such defenses passed from Tonga to Samoa. Primitive Fiji, however, was well supplied with fortified towns which were practically identical with those of Tonga (8, p. 216; 24, pp. 91-92; 28, pp. 48, 49, 58), and although there undoubtedly was a certain amount of diffusion in both directions, it seems probable that the original route of diffusion was from Fiji to Tonga. Fijian forts were commonly called *kolo* and the word appears to belong to the Fijian rather than to the Tongan tongue.

The New Zealand pa is interesting in this connection as it bears a closer resemblance to the Tongan *kolo* than does any other fortification reported from Polynesia. The presence of strong Melanesian characteristics in other phases of the Maori culture suggests that the pa, like the Tongan *kolo*, may be considered as largely a Melanesian contribution.

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Descriptions of Forts

172
712

1. Nukualofa.

The description by Mariner (16, pp. 90-106) of the fort at Nioocalofa (Nukualofa) gives many details that a strictly archaeological survey could not hope to furnish. These important defenses protected a roughly circular area of 4 or 5 acres of ground. The ditch outside the wall was 12 feet wide and 12 feet deep. The earthen embankment was surmounted by a strong fence of thatched reeds 9 feet high which was supported on the inner side by upright posts, 6 to 9 inches in diameter, placed 18 inches apart and extending 1 foot above the top of the reed fence. The reeding was lashed to the posts with sennit cord. A similar fence of posts and thatched reeds surmounted a dirt wall on the outer rim of the moat. The four large entrances to the fort consisted of openings opposite lapses in the ditch and were protected by sliding, horizontal coconut logs, comprising a sort of heavy grillwork. Over each entrance, and at intervals of 15 yards along the top of the fence, were platforms about 9 feet square constructed even with the top of the fencing and supported chiefly on the inner side of the fence, but projecting forward beyond the fence line to a distance of 2 to 3 feet. They were defended in front and half way on either side by reed fencing 6 feet in height. The thatching of both the main fence and the platform fences was equipped with openings to allow those within to throw spears at the attacking enemy. The fences were profusely ornamented with white shells, probably the shells of the white cowry. Mariner describes the large *lovoso* pitfalls as 4 feet broad and 5 feet deep and both *lovoso* and *sokie* as covered with stakes, plantain leaves, and earth.

The exact outlines of the Nukualofa fort were not determined. Nukualofa has been fortified on several occasions, and although some evidence of *kolo* walls remain, cultivation of the soil and recent municipal improvements have so obliterated the evidence as to rob it of anything more than corroborative value.

2. Feletoa (Vavau, fig. 42).

So far as known, the fort at Feletoa was the largest fort in Tonga. The name of the builder of the original Feletoa was not ascertained. Mariner (16, vol. 1, p. 149) describes Feletoa as sufficiently large to accommodate a population of 8,000, the entire population of Vavau. In construction this fort was much the same as that at Nukualofa, but it had a dirt wall 12 feet high outside the moat and an inner wall considerably smaller. Mariner (16, vol. 1, p. 230, 421) states that Finau leveled it to the ground but finally rebuilt it.

The moats and walls of Feletoa are still much in evidence showing the structure as a roughly circular area 580 yards in maximum diameter surrounded by earthen walls. The outer and second moats and walls are crossed by seven approaches which appear as openings in the wall, continued as fills across the adjacent ditches (fig. 42, 1-7). On either side of the entrances through the wall the earth rises at a steep slope and falls away at a similar slope on either side of the fills bridging the ditches. Most of the fills crossing the two moats are offset from each other so that it is necessary, after crossing the outer ditch, to travel along between ditches for a distance of 25 to 30 feet before coming to the crossing of the second ditch. Three additional, smaller crossings of the outer ditches, each situated near a more important entrance, seem to be independent from any opening in the wall (fig. 42, 8-10). Seven fills cross that section of the inner ditch which remains, but it is impossible to say whether or not all of them are of primitive origin (fig. 42, 11-17). The transverse segment of ditch (figs. 42, *e*; 43) is prevented from connecting the outer and second moats by two narrow walls of earth, placed one at either end. An earthen wall 3 to 4 feet high closely borders the southwestern side of this ditch, and the inner side of the outer wall is margined with a similar

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009

embankment for a short distance on either side of the cross ditch. The only apparent purpose for such a ditch seems to be to offer further obstruction and so add to the confusion of an enemy who had succeeded in crossing the outer moat. 172 712

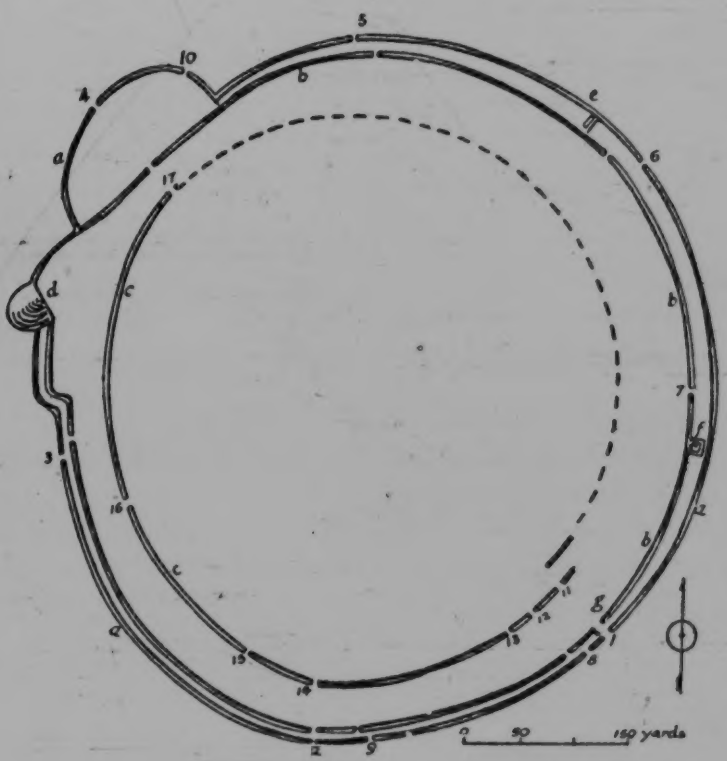

FIGURE 42.—Plan of fortifications at Feletoa drawn to scale: *a*, outer moat, 10 feet deep, 23 feet wide with accompanying wall; *b*, second moat 13 feet deep, 30 feet wide with accompanying wall 4 to 7 feet high, 15 feet wide at base; *c*, inner shallow ditch and accompanying wall, in part obliterated or never present: *d*, natural pit holding water; *e*, transverse segment of ditch 55 feet long, 27 feet wide, about 10 feet deep; *f*, site of langi; *g*, site of *esi* Taungata Haamea. Gateways: 1, Fatungakoa (crowded together like foam, referring to the number of fighters) 8 feet wide: 2, 10 to 12 feet wide, extended through inner wall; 3, 8 feet wide; 4, old gateway widened for modern road; 5, 3 to 4 feet wide; 6, 7 feet wide; 7, pass across second ditch and wall; 8, 3 feet wide across moat, 5 feet through wall; 9, narrow fill; 10, narrow passage; 11, 3 feet wide; 12, 8 feet wide; 13, 6 feet wide, crossing the moat where it cuts through limestone; 14, 4 to 5 feet wide; 15, 7 feet wide; 16, 17, modern road crossing perhaps of primitive origin.

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

172
712

3. Neafu, Vavau.

The remains of the fort at Neafu are still to be seen in places, but are too incomplete for accurate measurements. Mariner (16, p. 188) describes the building, possibly the rebuilding, of these defenses. According to his account, the inner ditch, which was 10 feet deep and 14 feet wide, was nearly completed in a single day and fencing and a second ditch, 10 feet deep and 18 feet wide, on the second day.

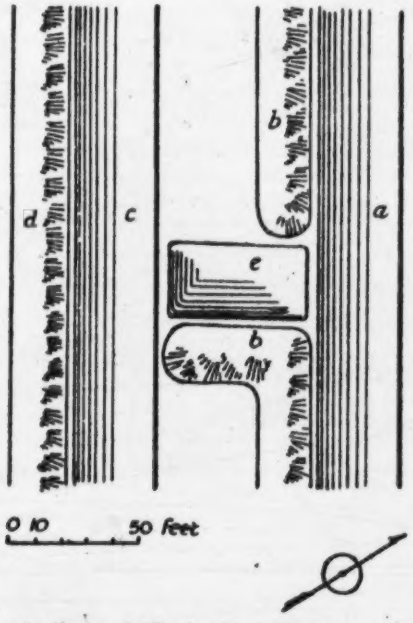

FIGURE 43.—Sketch showing detail of walls and moats on northeast side of fortifications at Feletoa: *a*, outer moat; *b*, outer wall; *c*, second moat; *d*, second wall; *e*, transverse moat between outer and second moat.

4. Velata, near the town of Pangai, island of Lifuka, Haapai, (fig. 44).

Although the area of the fort at Velata, including the fortification, is largely under cultivation, the structure is apparent throughout. Two earthen walls with accompanying moats separated by an interval of 33 to 35 yards, concentrically surround a roughly circular area. Four gateways cut directly through all obstructions to the interior of the enclosure.

[764] [312] A large *faitoka* (grave mound) placed directly across the outer wall near the southern gateway has the form of a truncated cone (fig. 44, *f*). It is definitely identified as a grave mound by the *kilikili* pebbles and fine, light colored sand which mark its upper surface. An artificial well near this mound has the typical conical shape. A low oval bank of sand crossing the outer wall of the fortification near the western gateway is said to be the remains of a *faitoka*, but no evidence was found to support the state-

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

172
712

ment (fig. 44, *g*). Velata is said to have been first constructed to resist the armies of Taufaahau, who later became George I Tupou. It was not used, however, at that time.

5. Uiha, island of Uiha, Haapai. This town was at one time fortified by a single wall and moat.

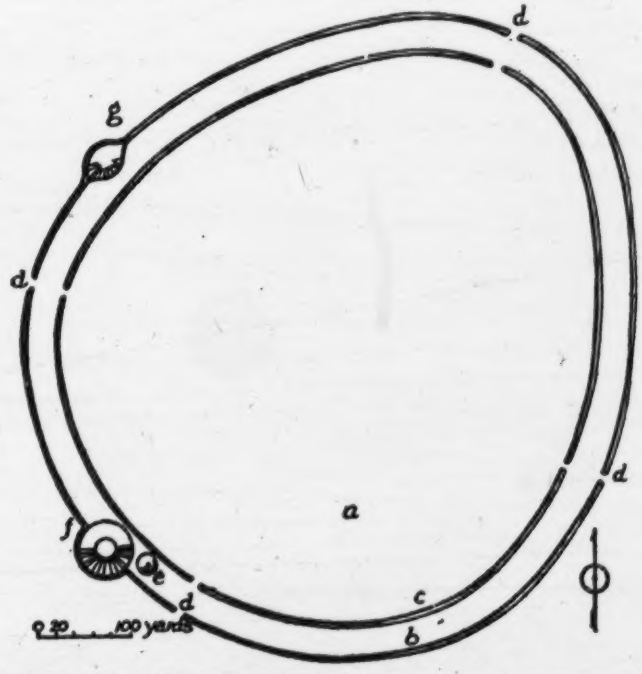

FIGURE 44.—Plan of Kolo Velata, Lefuka Island: *a*, enclosed area 553 yards by 540 yards; *b*, *c*, earthen walls 18 feet thick at base, 6 to 7 feet high with accompanying moats 6 feet maximum depth, 10 feet average width; *d*, gateways; *e*, artificial well; *f*, *faitoka*, height 12 feet, base diameter 165 feet, top diameter 60 feet; *g*. *faitoka* (?):

6. Tungua, island of Tungua, Haapai. This town was formerly protected by a wall and moat.

7. Kolotao (*tao*, war), or Toamotu, reported be situated on the volcanic island of Late, Haapai.

Kolotao is one of the most interesting forts of Tonga, although diminutive in comparative size. I did not visit it. According to reports, the fortifications at Late consist of a small circular area less than 100 yards in diameter enclosed by a fence of rough, loosely piled stones, 3 to 5 feet high and about 6 feet wide at the top. The wall is

127

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

172 712 immediately surrounded by a ditch and the stone wall is continued as a retaining element extending along the inner side of the ditch to its bottom. The ditch bottom is 15 feet below the top of the wall and 10 feet below the surface of the adjoining land.

The enclosure is made accessible through a gateway on one side made by squared slabs of stone standing upright, each stone about as high as a man and of sufficient width to conceal a man standing behind. A fill crossing the ditch faces this opening. Through this fill is cut an angular ditch, like a section of a modern military trench, and there are upright slabs of stone, similar to those guarding the gateway, standing at regular intervals on either side of this sunken path which leads from the gateway to the adjoining outer land surface.

[173] Tradition affirms that this structure was used as a fort, as its name implies, but the structural technique, if as described, is unique among the fortifications of Tonga, and so far as I have been able to determine, of Samoa and Fiji as well. According to one account, the fort was built by a Hunga chieftain named Fukofuka who fled to Late to escape from a Vavau chieftain, presumably Ulukalala.

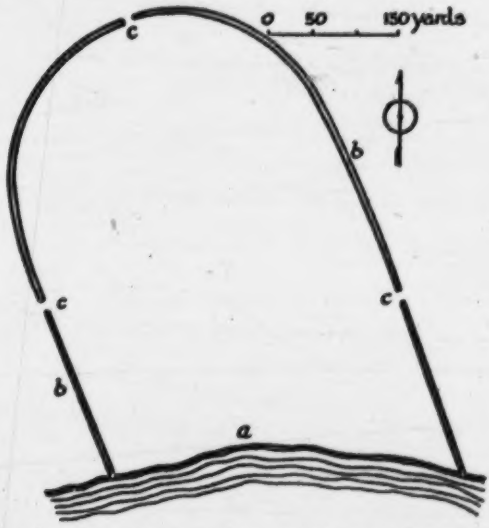

FIGURE 45.—Plan of fortification at Pea, enclosed area 580 yards long, 385 yards wide: *a*, shore of lagoon; *b*, wall 4 to 7 feet high and moat 20 feet wide, 5 to 7 feet deep; *c*, gateways.

8. Pea, Tongatabu (fig. 45).

From an historical standpoint, the fortress at Pea is perhaps the most interesting of the many defenses on the island of Tongatabu because of its recent history (22, pp. 357-360). Erskine (8, p. 148) says that a ditch 12 feet wide surrounded the town of Pea on three sides, the fourth side being naturally defended by the shores of the lagoon. Although the ditch entered the lagoon at either end, it was nearly dry for the greater part of its length. The inner side of the ditch was guarded by a dirt wall 12 feet thick and 15 feet high, strengthened internally by a wall of upright coconut

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 0U9 Tonga 0U9

trunks and surmounted by a high reed fence. The eastern gate was defended by "a kind of portcullis, and flank defenses of rough logs . . .". Chevron (18, p. 44, footnote) speaks of stone walls and corbel arch gateways, but investigation proved this to be South Sea fiction.

A survey of the existing ruins revealed a ditch and inner earthen wall surrounding an area oval in shape, save for the end formed by the shore of the lagoon (fig. 45, *a*). The moat, now largely effaced, is about 20 feet wide and 5 to 7 feet deep. The earthen wall is of similar width and 4 to 7 feet high. Three gateways cross the moat and pass through the adjoining walls.

The strength of this fortress, as historically related, was somewhat due to the fact that there were only three sides to defend. No boats could approach by way of the shallow, mud-bottomed lagoon.

It is through a study of traditions regarding the fortress of Pea that some sort of a time sequence is established for the other forts of Tongatabu. The first series of events that can be more or less definitely placed in a chronological order was an alliance between the two chieftains Vahai and Ahomee, both of the Hihifo district of Tongatabu, against the people of the district of Hahake. These two great warriors built a fortification at Poha, which I failed to locate. Tui Pelehake, the chieftain of Haatalafale and a great leader of the Hahake people in the early part of the nineteenth century, then set about to build a fortification entirely across Tongatabu, in a northeast-southwest direction, cutting off Hahake from the Hihifo district. This ambitious undertaking, now called Pelehake's ditch, was to all practical purposes completed before Vahai discovered the activities of his enemies and put a stop to the work by force of arms.

The ditch and earthen wall remain in part. Starting from the beach Mahafa, near Vatuu, this fortification passes between Houma and Vatuu, passes Hule, meanders through Nukunuku, meets and merges into the outer ditch of the Kolovai fortification at Teekiu, reappears between Teekiu and Masilamea and ends at Fahefa on the Hihifo coast. The ditch is on the Hihifo side throughout. In places the wall is 7 feet in height and the ditch has a maximum depth of 6.7 feet.

After Pelehake's defeat, two of his allies, Takai and Fae re-fortified the town of Pea. Soon after this, Vahai died. His death marked a scattering of those chieftains who had allied themselves to his cause.

9-10. Utulau and Houma, Tongatabu.

The fortress at Utulau was built by Valu and the defenses about Houma were built by Vaea. Both of these fortifications, which remain largely intact, are similar in all respects to the other fortifications on Tongatabu.

11-12. Koloteekiu and Kolovai, town of Kolovai, Tongatabu.

These fortresses were built by Ohuafi, a son of Motuapuaka, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Koloteekiu had probably been previously fortified, but the walls and moats needed repairing and refencing. A survey of the remains of this fortress

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

showed two walls with accompanying moats, separated by an interval of approximately 75 feet. The oval area enclosed within the inner wall is 275 yards in north-south diameter and 310 yards in east-west diameter. The bases of the earthen walls, approximately equal in size, average 25 feet in breadth. The maximum height of the walls is 6.5 feet. The moats average 20 feet in breadth and are from 4 to 5 feet in depth. Two of the four gateways giving access to the fortified area are so situated that a line connecting them would practically bisect the enclosure and a line connecting the other two gateways would bisect the two halves.

It is said that Koloteekiu was found too small to accommodate all the people who sought shelter in it and that the neighboring fortress of Kolovai was built to harbor the overflow. The ruins of this fortress show a structure similar to Koloteekiu. A roughly oval area included within a double set of walls and moats measures 216 yards from east to west and 233 yards from north to south. The walls, approximately equal in size, average 25 feet in base diameter and are 6 to 7 feet in height. The moats average 20 feet in width and retain a maximum depth of 5 feet. Of the four gateways, each 6 feet wide, two are directly opposite each other, the other two occupy intermediate points.

13. Kolonukunuku, Tongatabu.

This fortification was built shortly before George I Tupou, the first of the Tui Kanokupolu dynasty of kings, came to the throne in 1845. It consists of a single wall and outer moat surrounding a roughly circular area 164 yards in north-south diameter. The walls and ditch are now nearly obliterated, the present wall measuring only 3 feet in height, and the ditch 4 feet in depth. Many recent breaks in the walls render it impossible to accurately determine the number or situation of the original gateways.

14. Kolohule situated just outside the village of Fatai, Tongatabu.

Kolohule was rebuilt according to some informants in the days of George I Tupou. It consists of a single wall and moat surrounding a roughly circular area 400 yards in diameter. The embankment and moat are, apparently, in comparatively good condition. The wall is nowhere much under its maximum height, 7 feet, and averages 15 feet in breadth at the base. The moat averages 20 feet in width and has a maximum depth of 12 feet. The enclosed area is entered by four gateways of the usual type: the northeast gate was called Homofahefa; the northwest, Manahau; the southeast, Hamoko; the southwest, Hunganga. Besides these gates used for general entrance and exit, there was a small gateway known to only a few and used only on occasions when secret movements were deemed necessary. Its position could not be determined. Such gateways (*matapafakalau*) are said to have been present in all fortresses.

15. Fortifications at Longoteme, Tongatabu.

A slightly oval area 317 yards in north-south diameter is surrounded by two concentric walls 35 to 40 yards apart, each with an outer moat. The ditches and ramparts are of average size.

16-18. Maofanga, Polonga, and Kolomatua, Tongatabu.

The fortifications about these towns are in so poor a state of preservation that an accurate study of their detail is rendered exceedingly difficult.

19. The fortress of Lapaha, now known as Mua (p. 92).

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

172
712
128

This list does not pretend to be exhaustive. It is intended, rather, to illustrate the general structure of Tongan fortifications and the detailed features of some of the finest examples.

ROADS

172
491

Not least among the structural peculiarities of Tonga are the sunken roads. Their dimensions renders it highly improbable that they are the result of the wear of repeated travel. Their features suggest, rather, deliberate artificial excavation, although no good reason for building a ditch to serve as a road suggests itself. At first I thought they were courses for the game of *sika*, in which specially constructed spears were bounded along over specially prepared ways. But the great length of one of the roads, and the steep ascent of the other, renders such a use improbable. The Tongans insist that they are roads and I am not prepared to contest their views. Two of these peculiar highways were examined.

Halamate (*hala*, road; *mate*, dead), probably a recent appellative, extends lengthwise from end to end of the island of Ualeva, Haapai, a distance of several miles. It has the appearance of a square-bottomed ditch with the removed earth banked on either side. Its dimensions are 2 to 3 feet in depth, 6 feet in width at the bottom and 12 feet across the top from bank to bank. The course, as marked by a heavy growth of shrubbery along the bottom and sides of the road, follows a consistently straight direction.

The other road ascends the western slope of the hill Kafoa (p. 12) on the island of Vavau. It rises straight from the Pangaliki shore to the ridge top just below the hill. The floor of this square-bottomed excavation is about 3 feet wide and is 6 feet below the tops of the lateral embankments. The embankments stand at an angle of about 45°.

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 0U9 Tonga 0U9

The southern and most ancient part of Lapaha was largely monopolized by the Tui Tonga. The northern part, Maolunga, was the seat of government of the Tui Haatakalaua. Lapaha was faced on the northwest by the lagoon and surrounded on all other sides by a fortification consisting of a ditch and an earth wall surmounted by a stockade. The ditch is now largely filled in, but in places, where apparently it has not been disturbed, it is 10 feet deep and 20 feet wide at the top. The earth removed in digging the ditch forms a steeply walled bank bordering the village side of the ditch. The stockade fence was constructed of vertically erect posts placed together without interval and held together by means of poles placed horizontally and lashed with strips of fau bark. There were three, straight, level entrances to the fortified area, the names of which are not remembered. According to one informant, the Tui Tonga Takalaua either built or rebuilt these fortifications.

Entering ancient Lapaha through the southwestern gateway, the first structure encountered was the Olotele, a rectangular area enclosed by a reed fence taller than a man's head and entered by a gateway, in the center of which stood a post of volcanic rock, 3 feet high and 1 foot thick, called Tokomatupa, said to have been a gift to one of the Tongan rulers from Vuna, a chieftain of Houma. This area enclosed the house of the Tui Tonga, probably a dwelling of large size built on an earth mound. Surrounding the King's house (also called Olotele) were the smaller out-buildings occupied by the King's household servants.

All that now remains at the site of the Tui Tonga's house is a low oval mound of earth, 50 feet in length, the house-mound of the royal dwelling. The stone Tokomatupa, now generally known by the name of Levulevukefu, has been recently moved from its former position and now stands under a nearby tree. One house post from the old royal residence has been built into the house of Joeli Pangia, the living, ranking representative of the Tui Tonga family. It is a smoothly surfaced house post of *ngatae* wood (*Erythrina corallodendron*).

Opposite the entrance to Olotele and about 35 yards distant, stood the house of Kautai, the priest who ministered to the king's family god, Taufaitahi. This house is said to have had a name, which is now forgotten. The large oval mound, 40 feet in length, that now marks its site is called Paepaeokautai (*paepae*, house-mound; *o*, of; Kautai).

North of these two houses and immediately bordering them, was the great *malae* of the Tui Tonga—a flat, grassy, rectangular area where the king held ceremonies and entertainments. The *malae* was about 100 yards long and surrounded by large *ovava* trees. A very large tree of this species, under which the Tui Tonga sat during any function, was named Manaui.

This area no longer exists as such. The main road through Mua passes

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

102
361
712
368
172

Plan of Lapaha. (See figure 46.)

Lapaha proper:

a, fortification wall.
b, fortification moat.
c, gateway.
d, Olotele, enclosure and house of the Tui Tonga.
e, Tokomatupa, stone post.
f, house of Kautai.
g, malae of the Tui Tonga.
h, mound Takuilau.
i, malae Fanakava.
j, langis, royal tombs: 1, Tuoteau; 2, Tauatonga; 3, Katoa; 4, Tuofefafa; 5, Sinai; 6, Taetaea; 7, unnamed langi; 8, Tafaua; 9, Leka; 10, Tauhala; 11, Nukulau, a; 12, Nukulau, b; 13, unnamed langi; 14, unnamed langi; 15, Faapite; 16, Maluatonga; 17, Puipui; 18, Nakulukilangi; 19, Langalangafehi; 20, Paepaeotelea; 21, Namoala; 22, unnamed *faitoka*.

Moalunga:

k, Fonuamotu, dwelling of the Tui Haatakalaua.
l, Nukukausiala.
m, Falesinifu of the Tui Haatakalaua.
n, cohabital house.
o, *faitoka* for wives of the Tui Haatakalaua.
p, Falekili.
q, well.
r, Vakaniua, anchorage island.
s, Tukumotofa, house of Lauaki.
t, Malama, bathing place.
u, house called Milo.

Loamanu, burial place of the Tui Haatakalaua: 1, Falepulemaalo; 2, Loamanu; 3, Faletuipapai; 4, cemetery of Luani; 5, stone wall; 6, house of Afu Haalaufuli, caretaker.

Tatakamotonga:

v, house of the Tui Kanokupolu.
w, Avaui, house of priest.
x, the house Matangipuomai.
y, Falehau, king's guest house.
z, the god-house Kikiloi.

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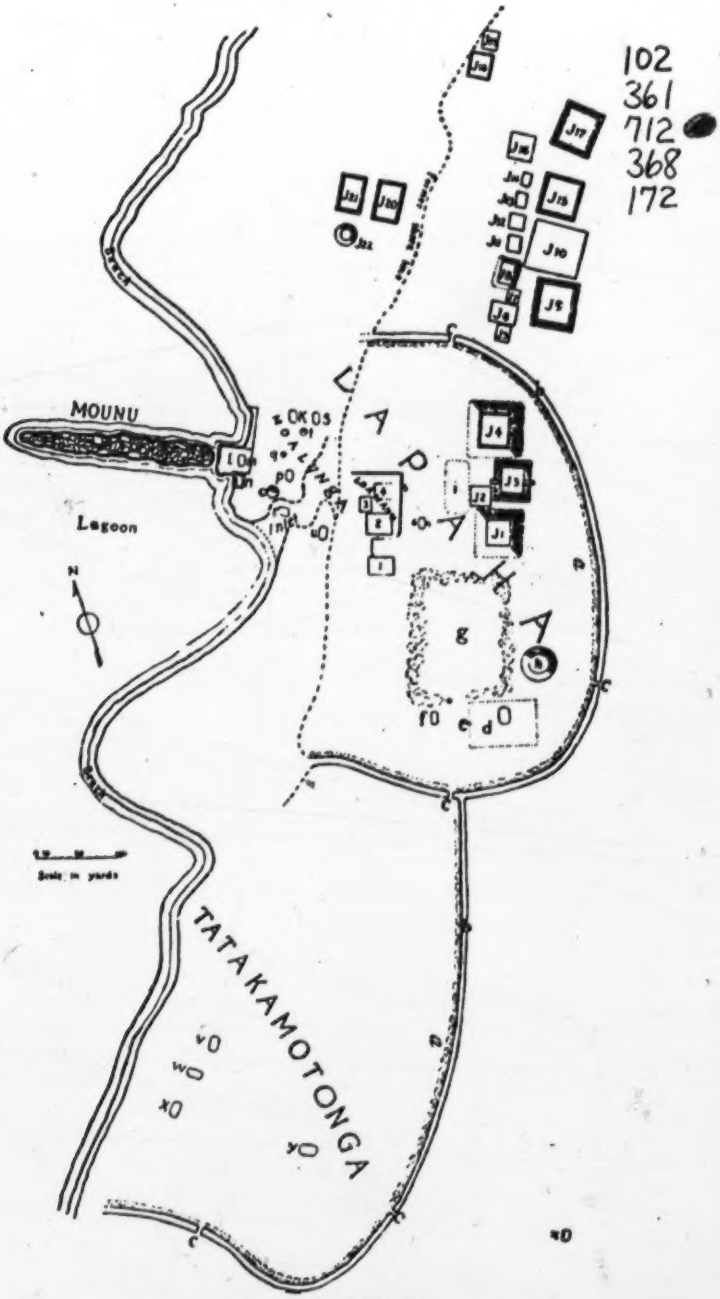

FIGURE 46.—Plan of Lapaha

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

The stone wall which partly surrounds Loamanu measures 235 feet along the eastern side and 181 feet along the northern. The wall, now in ruin, is 5 to 6 feet wide at the base and 4 to 6 feet high; originally all the wall was probably 6 feet high. This wall is composed of rough, medium-sized pieces of coral reef limestone, piled carefully with the flattest sides outward and parallel with the slope of the wall surface, about 75°. This surface, where it remains intact, is moderately smooth and uniform. At a distance of 35 feet from the western end of the wall two upright, squared pieces of coral limestone, 1.5 feet wide, 0.8 foot thick, with heights of 5 and 6 feet, respectively, stand in the wall, separated by an open space 2.5 feet wide. These rudely dressed posts appear to mark a narrow entrance. No account could be obtained regarding this wall. It appears to be a partially complete, or partially destroyed fence enclosing the cemetery.

Just outside the western limits of Loamanu, near the shore of the lagoon inlet, now represented by a *paepae* 35 feet long, 20 feet wide, and 1 foot thick, stood the house called Milo. There is some doubt about the intended purpose of this place. According to one report, Milo was the residence of one of the important matapules of the Tui Haatakalaua. The name and duties of this officer were not explained although one informant rather doubtfully thought that he took charge of the burial rites of deceased members of the chieftain's family. Another unsubstantiated report describes the place as the priest-house of the chieftain, but several informants insisted that the Tui Haatakalaua had no god other than the family god and priest of the Tui Tonga.

East of Loamanu stood a house said to have been the dwelling place of Afu Haalaufuli, a matapule of the Tui Haatakalaua and the caretaker of the cemetery Loamanu. A report, describing this as a god-house for one of the Tui Tonga's gods, was emphatically denied by Joeli Pangia and his oldest matapule. The house-mound is now obliterated.

Tatakamotonga, the home of the Tui Kanokupolu dynasty after its rise to political power, faces the lagoon and is surrounded on two sides by a trench and moat—an extension of the older fortifications.

The house of the king, or ranking member of the family, called, generally, *falehau* (*fale*, house; *hau*, a king of the Tui Kanokupolu dynasty), and specifically Langakali, originally stood in a fenced enclosure, of undetermined dimensions, which is said to have been rectangularly oblong in shape with a major axis extending northwest and southeast. This fence was called Lulukaho. The house-mound which remains is 40 feet long, 25 feet wide, and 1 foot high.

The priest's house, called Avaui, stood about 30 yards southwest from the king's house. All that remains of the structure is a house-mound about 35

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

172 being employed by the Fijians to build vessels (17). A similar specializa-
171 tion in stone work, under the encouragement of a favorable political state,
333 might in the same way have produced a technique superior to that of the
501 place from which the craft was introduced.

The importance of Fijian influence over Tongan culture is apparent in
172 aspects other than that of masonry. The fortifications of Tonga were less
171 like those of Samoa than like those of Fiji. Tongan pottery is certainly
[712] Fijian in origin and basic type; Samoa had no pottery. Tongan burial methods
[323] were much more like those of Fiji than of Samoa. The Tongan language
[764] has borrowed a considerable number of Fijian terms. This list of Fijian
[192] elements intrusively present in the culture of Tonga might be carried to a tedious length.

There is nothing extraordinary in the tendency of Tonga to drift, cul-
172 turally, farther away from Samoa and closer to Fiji. The Samoans were
171 relatively peaceful; the Fijians were warlike. Tonga, possibly under the
648 influence of its political solidarity, became a power at war, and the mingled admiration and sympathy of its young men of social prominence went to Fiji rather than to Samoa. Fiji became the war college of Tonga, whose young men were sent to this distant seat of interminable quarrels and petty wars to acquire experience in the war parties of Fijian chieftains. Aside from this, Samoa was a land of people and things similar to those of Tonga; Fiji was a land of strange people and strange customs. The spirit of curiosity and adventure, so apparent in the Tongan, attracted him to the new and strange rather than to the more familiar and less exciting. He felt the lure
[501] of the unfamiliar, the enchantment of the strange land. The fact that Fiji possessed a type of sailing vessel far superior to any in either Tonga or Samoa, and the necessity for Tonga, with its hundred and more scattered islands, to survive as a political unit only through a mastery of sea craft, may have had an important bearing on the close cultural relationship which sprang up between the two countries.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

to obtain provisions. Here we were grieved to observe the ravages which the enemy had made. Spectacles too shocking for humanity to contemplate, soon sickened my sight, and sunk my spirits. I beheld, with shaking horror, large stacks of human bodies, piled up, by being laid transversely upon each other, as a monumental trophy of the victory.

Proceeding a little farther, a horrid spectacle almost froze my blood. It was a woman in a sitting posture, with folded arms holding a child to her breast as in the act of suckling it. Upon approaching them, I found both the mother and child cold and stiff with death. The enemy had killed them while in this posture, and indulged their savage revenge in amusing themselves with placing the dead bodies in this affecting attitude. Having obtained provisions, we sailed for Aheefo, and leaving our canoes in the care of a few, we disembarked, and were joined on shore by the district of Mafanga. I followed them at a little distance, but near enough to observe them, as they marched against the enemy who had fled to Aheefo, where they found them prepared to receive them. They had enclosed themselves with a fence formed of reeds and stakes, from which there were only two outlets.

Loogolala could not attack the fence, because of of men stationed behind it, on the watch, who the instant an assault was made, would have speared the assailants through the enclosure: he made there-

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

nibalism for the support of life, and the warfare between the different fortresses degenerated into mere head-hunting expeditions. 175 669 266

Tukuaho had been nominally succeeded by Maafulimuloa, and upon his death, a few months later, Tukuaho's eldest surviving son, Tubou-malohi, was proclaimed Tui Kanokubolu, albeit a king without subjects. Safe within their fortresses the petty chiefs acknowledged no superior; and Tubou-malohi was so harassed by Takai, the one-eyed chief of Bea, that he became in reality a fugitive from his own subjects. Misfortunes attended all his enterprises. Having failed to avenge his father's death upon Finau and Tubou Niua, he set sail for Fiji. There he remained in voluntary exile for nearly five years; but in 1805, hearing that Finau's descents upon Tonga had become mere annual predatory expeditions, he returned and built a large fortress on the hill at Nukualofa. 175 669 643 [167] [712]

In 1806 an event occurred that vastly strengthened Finau's position. An English privateer, the Port-au-Prince, put into Haapai for repairs, having on board Mr Mariner, the son of one of the owners. The crew were mutinous, and insisted on going ashore, and the temptation was too great for Finau. They were massacred, and the ship was then surprised and captured by the natives. Mr Mariner became a great favourite with Finau, with whom he spent four years, and to his captivity we are indebted for a most charming book of travel.[A] 175 669 669 [727]

With the carronades of the captured ship, manned by English sailors, Finau made an attack upon Tubou-malohi's fortress and destroyed it with great slaughter. But instead of pursuing his victory he withdrew, and had the mortifi- 175 669 725 [713]

[A] /See 2 and 3: Mariner, this file, for this account -- Analyst/

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

me: not that I feared death by making you my enemy, but the vengeance of my chief, Tubou-toa, was first to be satisfied, and it was a duty I owed the spirit of my father to preserve my life as long as possible that I might have the satisfaction to see thee thus lie stinking" (dead). He then repeated the blows several times upon his stomach.

In spite of Finau's positive denial of complicity with the murderers of his brother, he did not deceive the chiefs of Vavau. In Haapai, in the centre of Finau's army, they were at a great disadvantage. When the stone was let down upon the tomb of their murdered chief, one of the assassins publicly challenged any of them to single combat; but none of them accepted, preferring to reserve their revenge. They swore allegiance to Finau upon a consecrated bowl, and received his commands to put themselves under the authority of his aunt, Toe-umu; and all, except the late chief's *matabules*, who were kept back by Finau, returned to Vavau. But a fortnight later the news came that Toe-umu herself had declared her independence of Finau, who had so treacherously allowed the death of his brother, her great friend. They had built the largest fortress ever seen in Tonga, and they were prepared to resist Finau to the death. While the preparations for an invasion of Vavau were being made, Finau's son, Moengangongo, and Vuna, the former Governor of Vavau, arrived from Samoa, where they had been absent for some years. One of their canoes, with sixty people on board and all their treasures, was lost in a gale which the other five succeeded in weathering.

Finau, in obedience to an oracle, first visited Vavau alone to endeavour to make terms with the inhabitants,

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

his instructor even promised to give him lessons in the science of angles, his delight knew no bounds. For days afterwards the lieutenant and his disciple were familiar spectacles in the chart-room, and the former, who came to be a little bored with his pupil's ardour, admitted that he had shown amazing aptitude, and that he could take rough angles and calculate area with approximate accuracy.

It was not easy to select the site for the protecting fort owing to the wealth of choice, but eventually we found what we wanted. Fatafehi undertook to "square" the owner, the descendant of a Portuguese deserter from a ship, who had found favour with the Finau Ulukalala of Mariner's time. So far from receiving the idea of a British fort on Tongan territory with coolness, the Tongans seemed to be pleased with it, especially when I hinted that the garrison might consist of Tongans under the command of a British officer. They are a race of warriors, condemned for the present to live upon the traditions of their ancestors' exploits, and soldiering is to them the most noble of occupations; indeed, no commander could ask for more promising material for troops, for alone among South Sea races they had evolved the idea of

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

galley, and furnished with a lead line and two natives as guides. There was no sea on, but the dive is a long one—one fathom down and five fathoms along the passage before it is possible to rise into the cave. Aylen was, I believe, the first white man to enter the cave since Mariner, and, being something of a draughtsman, he made a sketch of the interior, which was afterwards turned into a picture by an artist in Sydney. The return dive was not so successful. The great difficulty in diving out of these submarine caves is that, your face being downwards, you are deceived by the reflected light into coming up too soon. Captain Aylen scratched his back so severely with the stalactites that the wounds did not heal for two months.

With Finau for guide we rode out to see the famous fortress of Feletoa, at whose ramparts the most stirring of Mariner's adventures * were enacted. Those who have read this classic in the literature of travel will remember that when Toeumu revolted against her nephew, Finau Ulukalala, in 1810, the entire population of the island was entrenched at Feletoa in the largest and strongest fortress ever built in Tonga.

* *Mariner's Account of the Tonga Islands.* By JOHN MARTIN, M.D.

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

669 712 726 701 713 Finau besieged the place with an army of 5,000 men and artillery taken from the captured ship *Port-au-Prince*, but, after an ineffective siege of many months, was obliged to make terms with the enemy. The place lies four miles from Neiafu, on a deep bay communicating with 712 the same harbour. Descending from the modern village which lies just outside the landward defences, we came upon the outer rampart at a spot about two furlongs from the beach and 100 feet above it. We traced the triple line of ditches and earthworks for 200 yards, to a spot near the angle, where they made a semi-circular sweep to enclose a fissure in the earth 712 before trending inland, This rift was the secret 312 of the long resistance to Finau's army. The story runs that, a few years before the siege, a man weeding yams in the gardens above noticed that his dog disappeared and returned with a dripping coat. Fresh water is too rare in Vavau for this to be allowed to pass, and the next day the dog was followed. He vanished into a hole in the coral rock, and after several minutes, returned dripping as before.

Torches were procured and a man scrambled down. The passage gradually widened until, at a depth of forty or fifty feet, it became a

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

large cave full of water of unknown depth. It was this discovery that led to the choice of Feletoa as the site for the fortress that was to contain the entire population of the island. We explored the cave, and found that the water was clear, but slightly brackish. Probably it rises and falls with the tide, and the whole island, like Niué, contains similar reservoirs of fresh water beneath its crust. Mariner says that Finau had the ramparts levelled with the ground, but, to judge by the works still remaining, his commands must have been but grudgingly obeyed, for it would not take much to put the place into a state of defence again.

Surveying the fort, even in its dismantled and overgrown condition, we could well believe that it had a most imposing appearance. The land-locked inlet, with its vista of hazy islands to seaward and its brilliant reflections, broken here and there by light puffs of wind, must have been a fit setting for the lofty triple rampart alive with warriors in their war-harness. Of their Homeric deeds in the great siege you may read in the pages of Dr. Martin, who, if he wrote no epic, contrived at least to lose nothing of the romance in William Mariner's story.

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22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

gorgeous foliage skirting the shore, sent out some of their swarthy inhabitants to wonder and shout at the approach of the *vaka babalagi*, or "ship of the sky," as all foreign ships are called by the Tonguese. The wild enthusiasm of the simple-minded Polynesians at the approach of a foreign ship may well be excused, when we remember that such visits are the only links of connexion between those isolated and remote regions and the great continents of our babbling world.

In due time we anchored safely within a short distance of the shore, and exactly in front of Nukualofa, the principal town of the island. There is no harbour, but the anchorage in the roadstead is considered exceedingly safe. The Mission brig "John Wesley" has, on two occasions, safely ridden out heavy gales amounting almost to a hurricane. In addition to the good "holding ground," the roadstead is well protected from the heavy roll of the sea by numerous reefs, extending in large and small patches, for many miles from the shore. Beyond these again there exists a great barrier reef enclosing the main portion of the group, but through which there are several wide and navigable openings to the ocean beyond.

An interesting panoramic view of nearly the entire length of Tongatabu is obtained from the deck of a vessel anchored off Nukualofa. No high hills or mountain ranges break the even line of sight. Indeed, the highest land visible is a small natural mound immediately in a line with the usual anchorage. Upon this mound there once stood a strongly fortified native kolo, or town, against which cannon were employed, for the first time, in one of the native wars, as detailed by Mr. Mari-

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

ner in his book on the Tonga Islands. The summit of this mound is now crowned by a good chapel of native construction, which affords an excellent land-mark to navigators making for the anchorage; and it also stands as a very prominent emblem of the Gospel triumphs that have been achieved over the former habits of the people.

Looking eastward, Bagaimotu and a cluster of other islands, stretching away to the north-east, shut out the "*Hahake*," or eastern end of Tonga, from sight, whilst *Hihifo* and the island of Atata bound the prospect on the extreme west.

The town of Nukualofa may be regarded not only as the capital of Tongatabu, but as the metropolis of the little ocean empire of King George Tubou. It has risen from the obscurity of a small village, and has become the centre of religious influence and the chief seat of political authority, while several of the ancient royal residences have been almost entirely deserted. It is partly indebted for its importance to its admirable situation on the seaboard, but most of all to the fact, that Christian converts from various heathen towns were drawn thither, during successive years, that they might reap the full benefit of Missionary instruction, and be freed also from the persecutions to which they were subjected by their heathen friends. A short description of this town will serve to indicate the general appearance and arrangements of all others.

Nukualofa is intersected by tolerably wide paths, kept scrupulously free from all rank vegetation and dirt. These paths are bounded by the neat reed fences which enclose the *abis* or residential sections of the various chiefs and their retainers. These

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

for an expected contest. The old weapons of the country have, however, been greatly supplanted, by the introduction of European arms and ammunition; and there has been a consequent change from many of the former tactics and practices of heathen warfare. "Musket balls do not know chiefs," was the lament of a grey-headed old chief, as he marched past the writer to battle, with swaggering gait, and kindling eye, swinging his great club round his head as if it had been a cane, and evidently longing for a hand-to-hand encounter with some like-minded opponent. There was no little amount of truth, too, in what he repeated a few minutes afterwards, "Musket balls may do for boys, but clubs are the weapons of men." In the organization of their armies, and in the tactics they pursued, the Tonguese exhibited considerable skill. In any war of magnitude, a universal conscription was enforced, in which none were excused from following their leaders to the field, but those incapacitated by age or bodily infirmity. All were drilled in the use of arms, and were accustomed to the practice of warlike exercises. When preparing for war, a general review of troops was usually held before the king, or leader, in which the intending combatants swore fealty to their commander, and pledged themselves to deeds of prowess on his behalf. This was done by each of the party rushing, with frantic energy and fierce gesticulations, in front of the chief, flourishing and then grounding his weapon: while uttering at the same time the most ridiculous and empty boasts of what the individual would do in the coming conflict. The Tonguese were in the habit of constructing very complete, strong, and well-arranged fortifications,

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

from whence their fighting excursions were made. In besieging such places, they well understood the method of approaching by trenches, and rifle-pits, defended by earthworks and strong stockades. They were also well versed in the science of strategy, and knew no mercy to the vanquished who fell into their hands. The contending parties seldom met in a general engagement. The strife was usually a series of skirmishes. Those taken in war, whose lives were spared, became the *bobulas*, or slaves, of the conquerors; and these were often treated with the most refined and horrible cruelty, at the caprice of their proprietor.

In times of peace, the men were fully occupied in the various pursuits of agriculture, fishing, sinnet-plaiting, canoe and house building, and, above all, in voyaging. The women devoted themselves to the unceasing manufacture of the *fetaaki*, or white beaten bark, of which the native cloth was made, and to the completion of the process in those *kokaagas*, or united gatherings of the female sex, where the cloth was fashioned into one immense piece, and then printed in brown and black colours, according to the fancy of the maker. The women did no field or house drudgery in the Friendly Islands. They never even cooked the victuals of the family, that being always the duty of the men. In addition to the manufacture of *gatu*, or native cloth, their chief work was to bring water from the wells; make all the sleeping and wearing mats for both sexes; also baskets and bags for various purposes, and any other little nick-nacks for household use. Feasts, dances, games, wrestling matches, and canoe races, filled up much of the time of the people. Some of these

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

sionaries. The whole of the older Mission stations were prosperous, and their entire aspect most encouraging. New openings were likewise presenting themselves into heathen villages formerly closed against religious influences. 797

The Missionary stations of Tongatabu were adapted to its political divisions. During our residence, on the island, Mua was occupied by the Rev. George Daniel; whose labours extended to all the villages in the eastern part, including also the island of Eueiki. Nukualofa, and the central districts, were under the ministry and pastoral care of the Rev. Messrs. William Webb and Richard Amos; the former being succeeded, at his death, by the Rev. Thomas Adams. All the places included in the Nukualofa district, were nominally Christian, with the exception of the town and fortress of Bea. In that place, the principal chiefs remained heathens; although several French priests resided among them, who had gathered about two hundred adherents, and had built a very superior native place of Popish worship.

The station to which we removed from the Vavau islands, was that of Hihifo, or the western division of Tongatabu. Hihifo was the largest town, and Jefesi Ata the ruling chief of the district. The principal villages connected with the Mission residence at Hihifo, were Neiafu, Haatafu, Foui, Teekiu, Nukununku, Matahau, Fahefa, Fatai, and the island of Atata. Houma was the only town in the Hihifo district still remaining heathen; but, there was no Popish element there, as was the case at Bea and Mua. [103]

Hihifo had been a strongly-fortified place in [712]

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

797 former days, and was, consequently, surrounded by
[712] a deep trench or ditch, surmounted by earthworks;
which, since the war of 1840, had been allowed to
fall into dilapidation. Outside of the trench, and
near to one of the principal entrances into the town,
stood the Mission dwelling-house. It was flanked,
[137] on one side, by an artificial mound, overlooking the
trench, crowned by a single large orange tree, and,
on the other, by a magnificent cluster of weeping
iron-wood trees, reaching to a height of sixty or
seventy feet, and overhanging a small native
burial-ground. The rear, and further boundaries
[137] of the premises, were thickly set with cocoa-palms,
and other lofty tropical productions. The whole
locality had a peculiar air of stateliness and retire-
ment, as well as of unusual beauty. Indeed, the
house stood within about a hundred yards of the
[643] famous place called Bagai; where the various Ton-
guese sovereigns had, in succession, undergone the
ceremony of their public inauguration to power.
The trees at Bagai are grand specimens of old forest
life; and, could they speak, would tell of many
strange changes in the personal history, and dynastic
fortunes, of those who had sat, in solemn conclave
and state, under their deep shadows.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

797 159 [794] relations, and former companions, forsook Houma, and settled with Hafoka upon this new locality in Fatai. Temporary houses were built, in one of which I preached the first sermon to a congregation of eighteen persons, eight of whom were new converts from heathenism. Before a year had gone by, there were at Fatai thirty-five church members, a good chapel, a school, and a resident native teacher. There was also a fair prospect of a regular accession of converts from Houma.

797 123 763 While this was going on, Vaea, the old Houman chief, died. I visited him during his last sickness, and was with him only a few hours before his decease. I talked to him very faithfully about his soul. As on many former occasions, so now, he expressed his thanks for my visit and advice; but he intimated his unalterable resolve to die as he had lived, a heathen. But, notwithstanding this, he called his children and friends around him, after I had left, for the purpose of urging them to live at peace with their Christian neighbours; and he even advised them all to become Christians themselves. Shortly after he had done this he expired.

565 Another chief was installed with barbaric honours, who assumed the title of his predecessor without any consultation of the wishes of the king. This new ruler became an easy tool in [662] the hands of designing men, both in Houma and [669] Bea, in bidding defiance to the government of the king, and in the attempt which was finally made to overthrow his power altogether.

798 669 712 721 Early in the year 1851, the fortress of Bea was put into a state of warlike defence, without the slightest provocation from any quarter. For

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

several months, stores of provision were accumulated, and every opportunity was embraced by the heathen for obtaining supplies of ammunition from foreign vessels touching at the island. Information of these proceedings was sent to the king at Haabai; and the governor, Junia Haumono, requested his majesty's presence in Nukualofa. Accordingly, the king removed his residence from Lifuka to that place in July. This, however, did not alter the conduct of the heathen and Roman Catholic party. The king forbade, and then protested against, the fortification of Bea and Houma; but without avail. He also adopted various conciliatory measures to maintain peace, but in other respects remained perfectly passive and patient. Toward the close of the year, many of the heathen constantly carried arms. Overt acts of rebellion, and seditious speeches, became common. The most defiant language was used toward the Christian loyalists, and we ourselves, the Missionaries, were repeatedly insulted.

Attempts were again made by the Romanists to complicate the affairs of the country; two instances of which we may here relate. One of the sons of the late King of Vavau, Ulukalala, having been banished to Tonga, on account of an act of incendiarism and intended murder, took up his residence at Mua, where he received many attentions from the resident French priest. Towards the close of 1850, a canoe arrived at Mua from Vavau, commanded by an old friend of Matekitoga, (the late king's son,) on which occasion the priest waited upon him with a proposal that he should go off secretly in the canoe of his friend on its return to Haafuluhao; and, further, that he should

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

797 inclined to set upon us as we departed from the
798 village; but they could not agree among them-
669 selves what should be done, and so we mercifully escaped all bodily harm.

We then hastened forward to Bea, which place
[72] we found in a state of complete preparation for
[712] war: ditches cleared and deepened; earthworks raised and surmounted by stockades and fencing; gateways strongly secured and fortified; and the people all in commotion. We went straight to the house of the chief Maafu. He received us courteously, and entered readily into conversation; but of course he threw all the responsibility of the war preparations upon King George and the loyal people. It was in vain we reasoned with him; and feeling quite assured that no good could come of further discussion, I begged him to meet the king personally if he really wished a peaceful adjustment of affairs: to which his answer was, that if the king chose to come to him, it would be well; but if not, things must just go on! From this it was clear that peace could not be maintained long, as it was not likely that the king would ever consent to visit Bea, or Houma, considering the various outrages upon his authority, of which these places had been guilty, and after the reported plots for his assassination there, at different periods, during the past three or four years.

On arriving in the evening at Nukualofa, I stated what had passed both to my Missionary brethren and to the king. Mr. Webb is making every effort to calm and restrain our own chiefs and people, as well as to bring the Beans to reason. Indeed, we are all doing everything in our power for that purpose.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

February 28th.—Various rumours afloat to-day of disturbances near Bea, and intelligence has reached us here, at Hihifo, that the Nukualofa people have, at last, taken up arms in self-defence. If so, war is practically begun. The Houma heathen have also been very annoying, and threatening in their attitude, to the Christian villages in their immediate vicinity. Indeed, the people of Matahau, and Fahefa, are removing to this town and to Teekiu for safety with as much haste as possible. In other respects all is quiet in Hihifo.

March 2nd.—Reliable intelligence having been taken to the king at Nukualofa, that the Bea people are about to make an attack, he ordered the town to be surrounded by a temporary stockade, and to be carefully guarded. He also issued arms and ammunition to his fighting men, but gave strict injunctions to all to practise the utmost forbearance, and to act solely on the defensive, until he commanded the contrary.

March 5th.—The precise position of parties seems, from all that I can learn here, and at Nukualofa, to be this. The whole of the Hihifo district, under Ata, is loyal. Nukualofa and all its adjoining villages are so also. In the eastern, or Mua end of the island, things are rather different. Tugi, and the majority of the inhabitants, are with the king. His fighting force from thence will include Christians, Romanists, and Heathen. The Tuitoga, however, and all his party remain neutral, including the heathen town of Vaini, a fortified place. It is thought the Tuitoga, and others, of the Romanist persuasion, are under the impression that, before long, the French priests

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

the same year, he learned that the heathen chiefs of Tongatapu were plotting to attack his canoes. He took his great-uncle's advice to return to Ha'apai, realising the gravity of the situation which could easily erupt into open conflict (P. Turner 1831-8:52). However, this move did not appease the heathens, who continued to prepare for an offensive. 'All Tonga', wrote Watkin (Journal, 11 April 1835), 'with the exception of this place [Nuku'alofa] are building strongholds, sharpening their spears, and fabricating clubs with which to take away each others lives.'

After the rebellion in Vava'u was quashed in 1831, Lualala had gone to Tongatapu and allied himself with the Ha'a Havea chiefs, the traditional enemies of King George's father. This was a politically significant move. Assisted by the chiefs of Pea, Lualala built the fortress of Ngele'ia[1] (Blanc 1935:37), which became a formidable threat to the Christians at Nuku'alofa.

The Ha'a Havea chiefs were extremely upset when one among them, William Tu'ivakanō, became converted to Christianity. They applied so much pressure on him to give up the *lotu* that he eventually agreed to renounce his newly found faith in April 1835. The missionaries, however, persisted in their efforts to regain him, and, in September, Watkin was able to write: 'Tu'ivakano who apostatized some time ago resumed his profession of Christianity which he certainly did not renounce heartily but allowed political consideration to influence him to take that step' (Watkin, Journal, 19 Sept. 1835).

The Ha'a Havea chiefs reacted violently to Tu'ivakanō's reconversion. They deposed him and drove him and his followers out of his fortress of Hule and they appointed another member of the family to the title. William and his people fled to Nuku'alofa, where other Christian refugees had gathered under Aleamotu'a, the then Tu'i Kanokupolu.

The renewed intensity of opposition forced the Christians to fortify Nuku'alofa. They surrounded the hill where their chapel stood with a stockade and ditch, so that the place might be used as a citadel in case of war. Watkin (Journal, 25 Sept. 1835)

[1] P. Turner (1831-8:58) stated that after remaining in Tongatapu for a while, Lualala went to Fiji and settled at Lakemba where he became 'zealous in the cause of Christ and ended well'.

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

wrote, 'I hope the mere erection of the fortress will deter the heathens from farther hostilities and serve to check the disloyal spirit which has animated them.' Watkin's statement reveals the missionary view of the conflict, indicating that they regarded the Tu'i Kanokupolu as the supreme and legitimate ruler of Tonga; that hostilities against him and his followers were therefore rebellious; and that they were hoping that the erection of the fortress at Nuku'alofa might terminate these hostilities and thereby save the country from going to war. Subsequent events, however, proved these hopes to be futile.

At Hihifo, one of the late Ata's sons, Setaleki Ve'ehala, and his friends, who had been converted, were driven from their homes at Kolovai early in 1836. They established a little settlement on Setaleki's land at Masilamea, two miles from Kolovai. Many other Christians had to leave Tongatapu for Ha'apai and Vava'u in order to practise their religion unmolested. The missionaries were disturbed by the way things had developed in Tongatapu. One of them wrote:

> The heathens continue to rage and imagine vain things against the Lord and against his anointed and cause us some trouble and apprehension which require a strong faith to quell them knowing the bloody character and purpose of the heathen who compose the majority in this island. (Watkin, Journal, 26 Feb. 1836)

Aleamotu'a and King George valued the advice and the moral support of the missionaries, which they were constantly seeking, especially in times of crises. The Reverend Stephen Rabone (Journal, Aug. 1836) wrote:

> King George is indeed a fine man body and soul he is now preparing to leave for Haabai in the morning, not to return till after our District Meeting when King Josiah of Tonga will meet us and very much is expected as the result of their visit it is hoped it will prove a death blow to the remaining cause of Heathenism in Tonga.

This District Meeting was held at Lifuka, Ha'apai, in October and was attended by both Aleamotu'a and King George. There can be little doubt that the question of the offensive of the heathen chiefs at Tongatapu was one of the main issues discussed. This meeting of the *hau,* Aleamotu'a, and his deputy,

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

Ha'ateiho is the place where three London Missionary Society missionaries were killed in 1799. At Bea may be seen the spot where Captain Croker was killed and three naval guns were captured in 1840.

There is a good example of an old fort in fair preservation at Hule, near Nukunuku. The most remarkable of the numerous trenches of the island is known as the Keli-'a-Belehake, which extends from Vaotu'u to Nukunuku, Te'ekiu, Masilamea, and back to the southern coast at Fahefa; tradition states that this was actually dug in a single night during a war between the men of Hahake and those of Hihifo led by Vaha'i, at some undetermined time probably in the early 19th century. The name of a hamlet, 'Umutagata, also in the western district, recalls a rare instance of human cremation and cannibalism.

At Kolovai there is the enclosure where the former Tu'i Kanokubolu were invested with office; a piece of the koka tree under which these kings sat has been placed in the modern coronation chair at Nuku'alofa. The tombs of these kings are also at Kolovai. This village is well-known to tourists as a sanctuary for great numbers of flying-foxes.

Houma, on the south-west coast, is noted for the blow-holes which extend along the cliffs for a considerable distance.

In the extreme north-west of the island, at Ha'atafu, a monument stands to mark the landing-place of the first Wesleyan missionaries (1826). Tasman in 1643 and Cook in 1773 also landed nearby.

Navigation lights now stand at Ha'atafu, Nuku'alofa and Malinoa, an island north of Nuku alofa. The quarantine station is situated at Makaha'a, another island off Nuku'alofa.

Ancient stone-quarries are to be seen at Motutabu and Bagaimotu, small islands not far from Nuku'alofa. It seems more than probable that the stones used in the great tombs (lagi) at Mu'a and elsewhere were cut at these places, and certainly not at Uvea and other distant islands to which old native traditions refer.

HA'ABAI. It is considered that this name is derived from Savai'i, the island in Samoa from which the ancient Tongans probably came. Ha'abai is a scattered archipelago of small islands, the total area of which is less than that of 'Eua, if the uninhabited volcanic islands of Tofua and Kao are excluded. Yet these islets support a population of 6,410, most of whom have small tax-allotments or none at all, and despite the difficulties of getting a livelihood—difficulties which hurricanes and droughts have increased in recent years—the number of people who have gone to take up land in Togatabu and Vava'u is not considerable. The people of Ha'abai have always been renowned as skilful navigators and fishermen.

The Governor of Ha'abai resides at Bagai, Lifuka, which was also the boyhood home and always the favourite residence of Tubou I. Cook was entertained at a great festival and a plot was made against his life on this island in 1777. Mariner's vessel, the "Port-au-Prince," was also attacked here, and the cemetery of the murdered sailors is at Koulo, Lifuka.

Uoleva, now uninhabited, has a remarkable number of pigeon-mounds used by chiefs in ancient times, also an old sunken road of unknown use extending through the island.

361 As late as the first decade of the nineteenth century, Mariner reported that "the common men live entirely in the country with their wives and families, and occupy themselves 361 cultivating the land" (Maude, 1965:27). Kennedy believes 621 that:

> These apparently dispersed dwellings may have been in groups covering a proportion of the land held by each chief . . . . This being a comparatively small area, the settlement pattern would in effect represent a village, though quite different in form from its modern counterpart in Tonga. (Kennedy, 1958:162-163; Walsh, 1970:29).

361 In the early nineteenth century "Dark Age" of civil 712 disorder, Tongans were forced to seek protection in fort- [722] resses known as kolo (the name used today for villages and towns). Such fortresses, all of which had walls, moats, pits, and other means of defense, were established throughout Tongatapu in such places as Nuku'alofa, Pea, Te'ekiu, Kolovai, Nukunuku, Patai, Longoteme, Kolonga, and Lapaha (McKern, 1929:80-89)... the sites of present day villages or towns.

361 Since the period of the civil wars, the predominant 178 settlement pattern has remained one of nucleated settlements from which the inhabitants commute to the surrounding garden [177] areas. The evolution of well-defined towns was no doubt encouraged by the establishment of religious missions and schools, trading companies, and government offices in towns and villages. The distinction between the [423] 'api kolo (place to reside in town) and the 'api 'uta (place to cultivate in

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

America before it visited Lifuka, Ha'apai. The ship's company included the lad Mariner, the captain's clerk, only 13 years of age when the ship left England and 15 when *Port-au-Prince* was attacked. The captain had expected from Cook's account that he would find a favourable place in Ha'apai for repairing his leaking vessel. The spot where Cook's ships had anchored and had escaped from the plot in 1777 was the scene of the tragic destruction of *Port-au-Prince* on 1 December 1806. With extraordinary imprudence the captain allowed Tongans with their weapons to wander about his ship. They were under orders from the wily Finau 'Ulukalala who had professed friendliness towards the captain. At a given signal the sailors were attacked by 300 Tongans; twenty-two were killed and their bodies cast into the sea. The captain and three others on shore also were killed. The rest, thirty-four, were spared to work the guns which Finau had especially coveted. He took a fancy to young Mariner, who became attached to his entourage and was given a Tongan name, Toki 'Ukamea (= Iron Axe). While the ship was being broken up to get the iron the barrels of whale-oil in the hold burst; eight Tongans were drowned. Taufa'ahau, the future king, then a boy about nine years old, was pulled out of the oil just in time. The ship was burnt and the silver coins and plate which had been taken from the Spaniards were melted and lost in the fire.(2)

Finau 'Ulukalala took eight cannons to conduct the war on a new scale in Tongatapu. In this invasion he first made an assault on the fort at Nuku'alofa. This fort, the largest of twelve then existing in Tongatapu, stood on the hill afterwards called Zion because of the Wesleyan chapel there. The fort was more than four acres in extent, surrounded by a reed fence nine feet high and two ditches, each twelve feet in width and of the same depth. While the bombardment was being made from the beach, Finau observed the effect from the reef where he sat on a chair taken from the *Port-au-Prince*. After one hour the fort seemed to show little sign of damage but, when Finau's men had gone closer and burnt the fort, they were able to enter it without any opposition. The havoc resulting from the bombardment was then evident, and Finau felt satisfied with the success of his new style of warfare. The bodies of 350 defenders who had been killed by the guns were thrown into the sea.

Finau's treachery and insatiable ambition were further revealed in the murder of his half-brother, Tupouniua. The plot was carried out, with Finau's connivance, by Tupouto'a, son of Tuku'aho, the Tu'i Kanokupolu whom Tupouniua had killed in 1799. After Tupouto'a had taken his revenge the chiefs in Vava'u retaliated against the murderer of their governor Tupouniua, and his accomplice, the lord of Vava'u and Ha'apai, Finau himself. The Vava'u chiefs built a fort on the hill-top at Feletoa, an inland village. It was so large that it included the cave on the hillside with the entrance to an underground stream, and it was capable of holding all the inhabitants of Vava'u, estimated at 8,000. Its area and the dimensions of its walls and ditches exceeded those at Nuku'alofa. Shrewdly the defenders of Feletoa had built the outside earth-walls of their fort so high that cannon-balls would strike them but not penetrate the interior of the fort. When Finau brought his army and his much-vaunted guns from Ha'apai he found that, after six hours' bombardment, his guns were useless against the Feletoa fort. As his weary men dragged the guns back to Finau's base on the shore at Neiafu, they freely cursed the Englishmen who could make guns fire cannon-balls but were not clever enough to make them walk! A peace settlement followed, but Finau, deceitful as

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1835 - 1837]

authority and assume independence. On several occasions they plotted to depose him, with expulsion to Ha'apai or Vava'u. 643 669

At the beginning of 1835 there was a plot to replace Aleamotu'a with Fatu, the chief of Mu'a.[9] Ma'afu, Lavaka, Vaea and Fohe consulted about this but action was delayed until they communicated with Ata in whose territory of Hihifo was the place of installing the Tu'i Kanokupolu. These Ha'a Havea chiefs built their forts at Pea, Ma'ofanga and Houma and, when Aleamotu'a followed with a fort at Nuku'alofa, they protested. Aleamotu'a replied that his fort was only for defence and he hoped that it would never be needed. It was built on Veiongo, or Zion Hill, the site of the fortress in the 1807 war graphically described by Mariner. The chapel was inside the fort but the missionaries' dwellings were outside. Because of the danger of attacks, Watkin and Tucker sent their families to Vava'u. This safety precaution of 1835 was repeated in 1837 and 1840. John Hobbs, another missionary, reported that the rebels boasted that "an axe had been sharpened to take off Watkin's head"[10]; the wives and children of the mission families were mentioned in murderous threats, idle boasting though these may have been. 622 712 797 669

It was opportune for the Nuku'alofa mission families that the American schooner *Blackbird* came on 25 September 1835 and was able to convey the women and children to Vava'u. It was this ship which then took the pioneers, Cross and Cargill and their party, to Lakeba, Fiji; it left Vava'u on 8 October 1835. Some weeks later, after a truce had been made in Tongatapu, the mission families returned to Nuku'alofa.

The unsettlement in 1835 was aggravated by a dispute at the village of Nukunuku, west of Nuku'alofa. The chief, Tu'ivakano, who had professed Christianity, recanted in order to save his title. When he again decided to be a Christian he was made prisoner in his own town. The Christians in Tongatapu wanted to force his release but the missionaries persuaded them not to take any action that would precipitate open warfare. Afterwards, Tu'ivakano, now deposed from his title, joined the loyalists at Nuku'alofa.[11] 622 797 669 798

A condition of the 1835 truce was that religious liberty should be enjoyed on both sides. This was not fulfilled by the rebels who continued their attacks on Christian parties working in their plantations or travelling along the roads. 798 669

The situation worsened in 1836. Three chapels were burnt down. One day in April the missionaries' families were suddenly obliged to take refuge inside the Nuku'alofa fort when an attack was imminent. On 23 December 1836 Watkin wrote to Stephen Rabone, in Vava'u, stating that the rebels were again trying to depose Aleamotu'a and "replace him with someone more favourable to their views and practices".[12] [797] [643]

Tucker recorded three causes of the disputes — the rebellion against Aleamotu'a, the persecutions of Christian converts, and the opposition to Christianity itself.[13] He stated that daily prayers were being offered "for the poor, infatuated, rebellious and persecuting heathen that they would submit to the powers that be and thereby save themselves from destruction". He reported also that King George had sent a message to the chiefs in Tongatapu that he did not want to go to war with them.[14] Aleamotu'a had appealed to Taufa'ahau for support because of the rebels' numerical strength and aggressiveness.

The year 1837 opened ominously. Taufa'ahau arrived on 1 January. The rebels, believing that the Christians would not fight on that day, a Sabbath, planned 669 643 798

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1839-1840]

refused offers of peace. The assault on Nuku'alofa on a Sabbath in January 1837 was led by Lualala, the rebel chief from Vava'u; when Dillon had met Lualala in Lakeba, Fiji, he had promised to supply him with arms. Cargill also said that the supporters of Aleamotu'a had made Taufa'ahau their commander as Aleamotu'a was too old to lead them. He emphatically repudiated Dillon's charge that Taufa'ahau was a "satanic-like monster" and also declared that his former chairman, John Thomas, was in character the mildest of men.

After this it seems that no further reference was made to the tragedies of the 1837 war. The truce that was made that year was an uneasy one, but better feeling, on the whole, prevailed for nearly two years. On 14 May 1839, Taufa'ahau's only daughter, Salote, was married to a Christian chief, the Tu'i Pelehake, who had been in Fiji. All parties met amicably at Nuku'alofa for the wedding celebrations. The missionaries who officiated, Rabone and Tucker, recorded that the *Te Deum* was sung at the service in the chapel on Zion Hill.

* * * *

The regular work of the Mission proceeded in spite of the confusion in the islands. At the District Meeting on 10 August 1839, Tongatapu reported a membership of 1,208 (a substantial increase), Ha'apai 2,890, Vava'u 4,268. This meeting of 1839 was mortified by the loss of Samoa as a Wesleyan mission field, but it recommended as new fields the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Uvea, Futuna, Niue, and Rotuma (it had first recommended Rotuma in 1835). There was no lack of optimism with such a list! (80)

The disputes that continued in Tongatapu were complicated by factors neither political nor religious. This was particularly the case in Hihifo. Rabone, who left the Hihifo mission-house late in 1839 to live alongside Tucker in Nuku'alofa, wrote in December 1839:

> "At Hihifo heathen and Christians cannot agree. We do what we can to keep the Christians right but it is very difficult, inasmuch as their quarrels are principally of a family character." (81)

Rabone's journal of 22 January 1840 also showed the difficulty that the missionaries found in trying to restrain the war-like feelings of their own people who were nominal Christians of only a few years' standing:

> "It seems one of the most difficult things imaginable is to restrain these semi-savages from war when once commenced, in fact it would appear that many of them actually delight in these scenes of bloodshed; we talk, we write, we promise, we threaten, but the old disposition of the people breaks through all."

On 14 January 1840 Ata's followers left the Hihifo fortress and murdered four unsuspecting Christians working in their gardens. Aleamotu'a was visiting Hihifo at that time, trying to effect a complete reconciliation. It was regarded as unprecedented that an attack should take place while the king was making such a visit. A party of eighty men was sent from Nuku'alofa to bring the old king back safely. About the same time Ata besieged Fo'ui, the fort which the Christian minority in the district had built for their protection. (82)

As in 1837, Aleamotu'a sent a hurried message to Taufa'ahau seeking his help. He also gave Taufa'ahau a site in Nuku'alofa for his own fort; henceforth there were two forts for the two kings. Rabone recorded his fear that

> "the awfully sickening scenes of 1837 will in all probability be again exhibited, but we are for peace, O Lord, and we beseech Thee to give peace in our time." (83)

/93 cont./

361 178 remote from their corresponding villages. Here, for a few days, weeks or months (sometimes also years) live those men (seldom with their families) who wish to devote themselves intensively to their remote plantations, who give up the social life of the village and take the trouble to go the long distance to church. This is a development, though not a significant one, since it is very limited.

[565] Only Mu'a on Tongatapu was already at that time probably a village-like settlement of various chiefs. (268)

268. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 7; J. Wilson, A missionary voyage.../cited in English/ p. 285.

361 669 178 [712] [799] During the civil wars (1797-1852) the people of most of the islands sought refuge in fortified places and soon became accustomed to living together in townlike settlements, especially since, after the Christianization of the Archipelago (1826-1852), this made frequent church-going much easier. In the beginning, these newly formed villages /94/ seem to have been rather well kept. (269)

[113] 269. Compare J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque... loc. cit. II. p. 78; the same, Voyage au Pol Sud et dans l'Oceanie...Histoire du Voyage /Voyage to the South Pole and Oceania...Account of the voyage/. vol. IV. Paris 1842. pp. 138, 153, 352; Th. West, Ten years in South-Central Polynesia... /cited in English/ London 1865. p. 44.

361 177 182 Their deterioration set in during the growing European influences which very much decreased the natives' interest in various tasks once carefully and intensively carried out, and which, of course, also caused various Tongan crafts to die out or become crude.

However, this deterioration of the settlements is only external.

621 186 The feeling of solidarity, the community consciousness of the Tongans seems as strong as in old times. It may even have grown as a result